

METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.



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METHODIST REVIEW.

NOVEMBER, 1898.

ART. I.—FRANCES ELIZABETH WILLARD, THE “WHITE RIBBON CHIEFTAIN.”

ON the morning of February 18, 1898, the telegraph flashed to the remotest corners of the earth the tidings, “Frances Willard is dead.” The pathway of that message was marked by stricken hearts. From humanity’s great workers, the world over, came back words of sorrow and of irreparable loss. Countless homes scattered through all the lands beneath the sun felt that death had crossed their own thresholds. Thousands of heads were bowed in prayer which tears and sobs would not let them utter. From thousands of hearts were echoed Anna Gordon’s moan, “It cannot be true. O, I do not see how it can be true!” When the news of Miss Willard’s death reached Evanston the flags were placed at half-mast, and thus mutely testified to the grief of her home town until after the final funeral services a week later. In Chicago, Des Moines, Washington, on Governor’s Island, and doubtless in many other places this unusual tribute was paid, the only instance in the case of a woman. Rain and storm did not prevent the Broadway Tabernacle from being thronged while her body lay there in state. The journey homeward was one sad triumphal procession. The day on which the earthly remains of Miss Willard reached Chicago was one of the worst which that city knows. A cold wind from the lake blew cutting sheets of snow and sleet into the faces of those who ventured out. Yet, an hour before the train arrived, crowds gathered at the Temple. As the hour drew near so dense became the crowd that women fainted.

Then the police interposed and formed the waiting multitude into a line four deep. This extended from the entrance on Monroe Street to the middle of La Salle Street, then turning past the front of the Temple it extended for nearly a block. All day long that sad procession never flagged, and, though twenty thousand people viewed the remains, at four o'clock in the afternoon, when it was necessary to take the body to the train for Evanston, the police were obliged to disperse five hundred people who were still waiting to see for the last time the beloved face. Such world-wide honors were never before accorded any woman; such universal grief has not touched humanity since Abraham Lincoln died. "She loved the human race with a divine affection." "She ceased to work for humanity only when she ceased to breathe." In these tributes is found the secret of the honor which she won, for humanity has learned well to apply Christ's test, and accords the title of "greatest" to those alone who serve most.

To study Miss Willard's lifework is to study the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. She became its president six years after its organization, when, as Mary A. Livermore says, "it had suffered from inefficient and illiberal leadership, had no fixed purpose or policy, and lacked coherence and progressive spirit." What the Union is to-day is chiefly due to its great leader. It is her best monument. In it she embodied her best thought and work for the human race. A brief survey of that great organization is all that the limits of this article will permit. The Ohio Liquor Dealers' Association in its convention in 1894 declared, "Our only enemy is the Woman's Christian Temperance Union," an assertion practically repeated many times by other liquor associations and papers. On the testimony of its enemies the Union may fairly claim to be without a peer as a temperance organization. But he who sees in it nothing but a temperance society has little comprehension of the great movements going on around him. The meaning of the organization lies in the fact that it unites the women of the world into one great army. Its many departments have been misunderstood by many. But they are the bulwarks of its strength. Each represents some gifted woman with a mission, who has been attached to the

temperance army, and unknown hundreds for whom the work of the department has special attractions. The double purpose is served of securing the cooperation of these women and giving them aid in return. Each of these leaders alone could do the work of one; as superintendent of a department of the Union she becomes the experienced general at the head of a drilled and disciplined army whose forces are planted in every State and Territory, every city and town of the nation. This is why Mary H. Hunt has succeeded in securing compulsory temperance instruction in all schools supported by the national government and in the schools of all the States and Territories save four. This is why the age of consent has been raised in so many States. And this is why, in countless other ways, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union has been able to influence legislation, and is, altogether, the great woman movement of this "woman's century."

To understand and appreciate Miss Willard's work it is necessary to recognize that she herself felt that her mission was primarily to women. The first time the writer ever heard her speak was in September, 1871, in her first Friday afternoon talk to "her girls" of the Northwestern University. One of the sentences which fastened themselves in our memory was this: "How often from the windows of swift rail cars, flying over those barren and frozen plains in Russia and in Poland, I have looked into the eyes of dark-faced women, dear to God as you or I, and the thought has smitten me, 'I am powerless to help you, but away yonder, across the sea, there is work for me to do, and for that I am gladly going home.'" I little knew then that in that sentence lay wrapped up her deepest thought of her own mission to the world; that it expressed the result of her study of humanity's greatest need. Her journal reveals that those two years of European travel had impressed her chiefly with the sense of woman's sorrowful lot in the world, and that she had resolved to study the "woman question" and speak publicly in behalf of her own sex. Later she said that it was only "the sad state of woman" that gave her courage to speak in public. But though she dedicated all that she was to the cause of womanhood it was not because she made the mistake, which

she attributes to the author of *Getting On in the World*, of "squinting at humanity and seeing only half of it." Still less was it due to any feeling of hostility toward the other half, of whom she always spoke as "brothers beloved," and whose errors she attributed to environment and long-established prejudice. But she saw that the interests of home, of a more carefully nurtured childhood, of a purer manhood, were bound up in the elevation of "humanity's gentler half;" that the "subordination of woman" meant the degradation of all the race. It was therefore for the sake of a whole humanity that she dedicated herself to the work of woman's emancipation and strove to bring about the time when "the measure of every human being's sphere should be the measure of that human being's endowment." Like other great leaders, she did not know that she was to be a great leader. She thought when called to the deanship of the Woman's College of the Northwestern University that she had found her place to work; that her mission was to the "dear, fortunate American girls who should gather round her and love her as of yore;" that she was to inspire them with her own ideals, and that it was through them she was to reach her sisters over all the world. But, as the eagle stirs up her nest and drives forth her young to their nobler destiny, so God drove Frances Elizabeth Willard forth from the vocation for which she was so qualified to be the leader of one of the world's great forward movements. As president of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union she no longer said to any woman, "I am powerless to help you," but she reached a hand of succor to all women of every land.

Miss Willard's gifts for the work of a leader were phenomenal. One sometimes doubts whether even those who knew her best and loved her most fully appreciated her rich and varied intellectual and spiritual endowment. She made no show of what she was doing. She never held up her work and cried, "Behold what I have done!" And none but those who worked with her had any conception of the fertility of her plans and the extent of her work. In the Woman's Christian Temperance Union she was the guiding spirit. Her active brain was always planning new work and better

methods of work. Nor was her labor confined to the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. No effort anywhere by anyone to make this world better escaped her notice or failed to receive at least a word of encouragement from her. However much the worker might differ from her in all other regards, if he was working in behalf of a cause in which she believed he commanded her sympathy and aid in that work. She was too great a soul to forbid any casting out of demons in the Master's name because they followed not with her. Nor was she so much occupied with general plans for humanity that she forgot the individual. Until the books are opened it will never be known how constant and far-reaching was the help she gave to the needy along her pathway.

How she accomplished so much is a mystery which her collaborators never fully solved. Her own capacity for work was enormous. After her first return from England, when she was still regarded as an invalid, one of the executive committee remarked to another, "Miss Willard can wear us all out now. I don't know what she would do if she were well." But her own great capacity for work was but one element of her great executive ability. The ever-present notebook, in which she jotted down every fact and suggestion as soon as it came to her, which could be helpful along any line, was another of its elements. But perhaps her chief power lay in her ability to get others to work for her. She never did anything that some one else could do as well. It was her strong point that she quickly discerned the gifts of others and inspired them to do their best. Her helpers were her devoted friends and allies. However mechanical the work the worker felt that it was ennobled because it released Miss Willard's hand and brain and left her free for her greater work. And they were more than repaid, for each became her personal friend and received the inspiration of living in familiar contact with one of the greatest souls of this age.

The ability, in a good sense, to manage others is essential to a leader. This Miss Willard possessed in the highest degree. She had wonderful facility in converting people to her views and firing them with her own enthusiasm. This power was clearly shown in her influence over the schoolgirls with whom

she came in contact as a teacher. The writer met Miss Willard for the first time in the fall of 1871. The Northwestern University at Evanston, Illinois, had just opened its doors to women. The women of Evanston, anxious to make the experiment of coeducation a success in their town, had organized the "Evanston College for Ladies," an institution designed to provide the young ladies who should attend the university with home surroundings and give them women for their counselors and friends. Of this institution Miss Willard was the dean, and it was our happy lot to be from the very beginning one of those whom she always lovingly designated as "my girls." What it was for girls to be closely associated with Miss Willard in the formative period of their lives only those who knew her well can at all estimate. Such broad views of life and destiny as she opened to our sight; such high ideals of character as she set before us; such visions of the heights to which we might climb, of the noble deeds we might achieve; and, with it all, such a deep and weighty sense of responsibility for the use we made of life with its gifts and opportunities, we have never seen or felt through the inspiration of anyone else. It was like living upon Alpine heights to be associated with her.

Her first Friday afternoon talk struck the keynote of her influence over us. In those days coeducation was still looked upon as very much of an experiment, and, though it is doubtful if it has been tried in more friendly and congenial surroundings than at Evanston, there were many there who looked hesitatingly upon it and were ready to seize upon the slightest indications of evil. Before Miss Willard were gathered in that old chapel a company of average girls. None of them wanted to do anything very bad. Many had sought this opportunity for higher education with a more or less earnest purpose to make the most of themselves. But the majority of them had no clearer understanding of life's meaning, no deeper appreciation of its responsibilities, than is usual among girls of their age. They possessed, moreover, quite the average amount of animal spirits and love of fun. Had they been placed in a regulation "female seminary," with its multitude of inconsequential rules, they would have acted as girls usually do under such circumstances, and have set at naught the

exasperating and trivial restrictions which were an insult alike to their good sense and self-respect. To the writer's knowledge there were girls there who only waited the occasion to rebel against any such strictures. But in that first talk Miss Willard disarmed all such incipient rebellion. She gave us briefly the history of the opening of the university to women; told us of President E. O. Haven's generous brotherly interest and faith in us; of the enthusiasm with which the women of Evanston had planned for our coming, and had sought to make the way plain and easy before us; of how ready they were to help us and with what interest they were watching us. Though we saw only unfamiliar faces she assured us that "friendly eyes are upon you as you walk our streets, and the kind hands of strangers are ready to clasp yours." She reminded us that this was a new movement, a step forward in woman's advancement, and its success must depend chiefly upon those in whose interest it was made. "Your feet and mine," she said in her impressive way, "are treading ground untrod before. I am speaking to those whose intellect must be active and keen, whose hearts must be loyal and true, else the new experiment is a failure." By the time she had finished every girl in her presence felt that the eyes of all Evanston were fixed upon our little band in anxious but sympathetic and kindly interest; that the cause of coeducation depended very largely upon our success as students and upon our loyalty to right; more, that the whole cause of woman's advancement was involved in the use we made of the opportunities now placed within our reach. However careless and thoughtless any may have entered the room, all went forth with new and earnest longings to help womanhood and humanity forward to the extent of their influence, by excelling as students and by measuring up to the highest standard of noble womanly character.

Not long after this an incident occurred, small in itself, yet very significant of Miss Willard's hold upon the girls. The old seminary grounds which we occupied temporarily, in the expectation of entering the next year the beautiful new college then building, were very near the railroad track. One afternoon a train passed loaded with young men students. There were twenty or more girls in the yard and on the porch, and

the young men in passing gave the "Female Seminary" the "Chautauqua salute." Not a handkerchief waved in return. On the contrary the demonstration was regarded as an insult, and called forth some indignant comment. Yet there were girls in that group who, under other circumstances, would have considered it great sport to answer the salute, principally because such response would have been defiance of a command which implied lack of sense and of self-respect in those upon whom it was laid. Miss Willard had given no specific direction as to how her girls should conduct themselves toward young men or anyone else. She had simply inspired them with a sense of their individual responsibility, had made them feel that unknown interests depended upon their conduct, and had left the rest to their own heart and judgment. An "arrest of thought" was her sovereign remedy for all the errors of belief or conduct to which human nature is prone. In dealing with students she considered it far more efficacious than rules or monitors. She believed that the only true government is self-government, and on this idea founded her self-governed system. In accordance with this a girl who had been in school one term and had so conducted herself as to call for no reproof was placed upon the roll of honor. Here certain privileges were allowed her. If, for example, she wanted to go down street after a lead pencil, it was taken for granted that she knew what she wanted and could get it without bringing disgrace upon herself or the institution, and she went, not only unaccompanied, but without asking permission of anyone, provided it were out of study hours. A term upon the roll of honor promoted one to the "self-governed list," whose members did exactly as they pleased, "so long as they pleased to do right." Without question from anyone they observed study hours or they did not, consulted their own judgment as to what gentleman company they should accept and when, and, in every other particular, were a law unto themselves. It was assumed that a self-governed girl had good and sufficient reason for her actions, so long as her conduct did not belie the confidence reposed in her. The results fully justified Miss Willard's faith. Unfortunate circumstances, opposition, and lack of harmony toward the close of her stay in Evanston made it impossible for her to

continue her method, but so long as she was free to carry out her plan in her own way her system was a complete success. Not only in the good order which it secured was it successful. In its effect upon character it bore the same relation to the cast-iron regulations so common in schools for girls that light does to darkness. It threw every girl upon her honor and appealed to her highest nature. Never has the writer lived under a keener sense of responsibility than during that time, and the power of Miss Willard's influence has followed us through all the years. The feeling of loyalty to her which was so strong in our schoolgirl days, the fear that she would be disappointed in us if we fell short of being our best self, has spurred us on to higher endeavor in these later years, even as in the old happy days when we were one of her "girls." "Help us to be what each in her best moments wants to be," was the oft-recurring petition in her prayer at evening devotions. To that noblest self of our "best moments" she always appealed. She seemed to ignore the possibility of our allowing any lower self to have a voice in making up our deliberate decisions, and the self thus appealed to responded. It was the same years after when, instead of half a hundred schoolgirls, she gathered as her pupils "the women of two hemispheres." And very seldom did those thus appealed to disappoint her. It could not be expected that there should be no exceptions; Judas became a thief and a traitor while in constant companionship with the Master himself, and there were a few who proved unworthy of Miss Willard's faith and trust. But by far the most have been lifted up to higher planes of life and thought by her generous confidence.

Her religious influence was all-pervasive. Her religion was so thoroughly a part of herself that she breathed it forth unconsciously. How new and fresh were her representations of Christ and of a religious life! In her first Friday afternoon talk she told of the incident when Carlyle said to Emerson, "Christ died on the tree; that built the kirk yonder, and that brought you and me together." "So," she said, "I think, with swelling heart, 'Christ died on the tree;' that built the university up in the grove yonder, and set my girls filing through its open doors." The writer had entered school well

grounded in newspaper skepticism, but from that day Christ began to assume a different character to us. We soon learned to look upon him as the all-powerful friend of woman claiming our allegiance, if for no other reason, because he was the leader in the work of woman's emancipation. It was not strange that warm-hearted girls, their affections unchilled by experience with the world's coldness and their faith unshaken by its deceptions, should have idolized Miss Willard. Some onlookers, beholding the devoted loyalty and passionate affection she inspired in us, declared that her influence was inexplicable on natural grounds; that she possessed a kind of occult magnetism none might resist who came within its influence. But it was not so. It was but the power which a great soul, full of the spirit of Christ, must ever wield over its fellows. And it is this power which has made Frances Elizabeth Willard the organizer and leader of the womanhood of her time and the commanding figure of this century.

Miss Willard was a leader, not a despot. The fatal weakness of many great minds is their inability to abide the judgment of the majority. They see with clearness an end to be reached and, failing to convince the slower minds around them, ride roughshod over all objections. Not so with Miss Willard. She believed that in the long run the wisdom of the many exceeds the wisdom of the few. When she could not carry her point by force of argument she yielded her own judgment to that of her coworkers. Such conduct served to strengthen her influence, for her own "sweet reasonableness" induced reasonableness in others.

One great source of Miss Willard's influence lay in her enthusiasm. It is common enough for young people to start out in life with lofty ideas of what they are to do to make the world better. It is also common for these same young people, after a few years' struggle with that long-established firm, "the world, the flesh, and the devil," to lose heart and even to question whether conditions can ever be materially improved on this planet. Miss Willard never lost the youthful ardor which looks upon the world as a great battlefield where brilliant victories await the brave and true of heart; which believes that a glorious destiny awaits humanity, not alone in

the world beyond, but here on this old earth. Essential elements of such enthusiasm are faith in man and trust in God. These Miss Willard possessed in the highest degree. "Never forget," she used often to say, "that people are at heart well-disposed and kindly intentioned." In her loving and charitable thought the most sordid, degraded human personality still held the germs of divinity which divine influence could nurture into heavenly growth. She therefore addressed all men with the confidence that there were none so indifferent or so selfish that they could not be reached by appeals to their nobler nature. Her trust in a loving Father who ruled the world in righteousness never knew a doubt. No mathematical demonstration established a clearer certainty in her mind than that

Right is right, since God is God,
And right the day must win.

No wonder that she applied herself with an enthusiasm which burned out her life to the betterment of "woman's sad estate." Enthusiasm is contagious. Miss Willard imparted it to all around her, from the little band of schoolgirls who loved her as few teachers have ever been loved to the army of women, gathered from all climes and races, who loved her no less than did her college girls.

Another of Miss Willard's characteristics which was essential to her success as a leader was her insight into the signs of the times. She was not one of those who, having eyes, "see not" as God's great facts unroll before them, and who, having ears, "hear not" his call to duty. It is this that explains her otherwise inexplicable choice which proved to be the crucial decision of her life. After leaving her position at Evanston numerous positions as principal of seminaries were offered her. She refused them all. At last two letters came in the same mail. One offered her the principalship of a ladies' seminary with a salary of \$2,400, to teach what and as much as she should herself choose; the other asked her to become the president of the Chicago Woman's Christian Temperance Union, just organized, with no promise of a definite salary. In that first Friday afternoon talk, to which we have already referred, she said with an earnestness we have never forgotten that she

counted it one of the chief blessings of her life that she was where of all places in the world she would choose to be, and expressed the conviction that her mission was to be a teacher of girls. It is most remarkable that Miss Willard did not see in the call to educational work the call of God. Yet in spite of her fitness for that work, in spite of her love for it, in face of the protests of every friend whom she consulted, with the one exception of Mary A. Livermore, she refused the tempting position in an educational institution and chose the obscure position of a reformer in a new and despised movement. The only possible explanation of her choice is that she saw, as no one else did, the real significance of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. It would, perhaps, be too much to claim that she realized the full magnitude and possibilities of the movement; but certain it is that it was never to her a mere temperance organization. In the Union she recognized her great opportunity to work for the cause to which years before she had prayerfully dedicated herself and all her powers, the advancement of womanhood. She saw in it the first attempt to unite women into an organization which should make their influence an appreciable power. The world had long been reciting the pretty sentiment, "The hand that rocks the cradle is the hand that rules the world." Miss Willard knew that it had never been anything but a sentiment, and she saw in this movement of women a means by which that hand should be enabled, not to rule the world—that it has never aspired to do—but to obtain its rightful share in ruling the world. She saw that the army, called into existence by the ravages of the saloon upon the home, could with proper leadership be arrayed likewise against every other evil which threatened the home and strikes at our civilization. She saw in it, too, a great educational agency in which women should be trained for the wider sphere that a better civilization was to give them. It was this conception of the scope and meaning of the movement which gave such breadth to her plans. It was this which inspired her "do-every-thing policy." It was this which caused her to pick up every woman with a mission upon whom she could lay hands and attach her, mission and all, to the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. It was this which has made

that organization the power it is to-day. It is this broadness of vision which crowns Frances Elizabeth Willard one of the greatest leaders of the race.

Through her gentleness, her sympathy, her charity, her toleration of the views of others Miss Willard disarmed hostility to an extent seldom equaled by one so aggressive in her purposes and methods. Yet she did not altogether escape the bitter opposition and unjust criticism which are always the lot of the reformer. She was too far ahead of the generality of mankind, she stood too high upon the mountain-tops of vision. "I came not to send peace, but a sword," were the words of One who well knew that the breaking down of old, effete customs, the overturning of long-established prejudices, must bring strife so long as this world should be a world of progress. There are always those, even among Christian people, who are so narrow of view that they have only suspicion and dislike for one, however saintly his life or noble his work, who crosses their own peculiar prejudices. Such people treated Miss Willard as a dangerous innovator, "sure to turn the world upside down." They belittled her work and disparaged her powers. Fearing that her success in any cause would give strength to other causes of which they did not approve, they gave her the most grudging help at best, sometimes even threw obstacles in her way. One of the most beautiful things in Miss Willard's character was the way in which she forgave and excused such treatment. Though keenly sensitive to unkind criticism, though she longed for "the good words of the good," she carefully covered her own hurt, and never, even in private, returned railing for railing. Great enough to recognize as allies and coworkers those who agreed with her on one subject only, she was also great enough to forgive those who counted her an enemy because she differed with them on one point alone.

The last great task which she set herself was to save the Woman's Temple of Chicago for the White Ribboners. At the Buffalo convention it became evident that unless a special effort were made the Temple must be lost. Miss Willard therefore gave up her plan of going to England for a few months' rest, and dedicated her fifty-ninth year to the Temple.

In the early days of her illness she talked to her physician about it. He said to her, "If you will get well we will have a grand rally and raise the money; but the first thing is for you to get well." "No," she said, "I think you will do it better if I don't get well." In a letter to her white-ribbon host, signed with her dying hand, she thus expresses her feeling of the importance of the work:

Much more is pending in this enterprise than might at first appear. . . . Money has come from every quarter of the globe to help raise its beautiful walls. It is the shrine of the home people, to which little children have given their hoarded coins, and toward which the aged have turned with loving hope. I do not believe we can overestimate what it would be to have the Temple pass into the hands of the brewers, as they have vowed it should, and that they would make of Willard Hall a beer tunnel.

Had Miss Willard gone to England at the close of the convention there can be little doubt she would be alive to-day. Her life is part of the price the women of this country and of the world have paid for the Temple.

"Only the golden rule of Christ can bring the golden age of man." "How beautiful it is to be with God!" Fit words to close such a life—the one, the outbreathing of her own soul's rich experience of communion with God; the other, epitomizing her whole lifework and aim. "Of whom the world was not worthy." No, for this poor sin-stricken world is never worthy of those who live and die for it. There were then no need that they should live. Christ came, not because the world was worthy, but because it was unworthy, that through his life it might become worthy. And everyone who thus gives his life for humanity leaves the world more worthy than he finds it. "O Thou who rulest above," prayed Frances Willard in her college days, "help me that my life may be valuable, that some human being may yet thank thee that I have lived and toiled." "Exceeding abundantly above all" that she dared to "ask or think" that prayer has been answered.

Isabella Webb Parks.

ART. II.—THE MONISTIC PSYCHOLOGY.

THE newest form of pantheism is known as "monism." It is, however, only pantheism in so far as it includes a doctrine of God. It may be, and often is, practically atheistic. Judged etymologically monism is the doctrine which proposes to explain all being on the supposition of the existence of but a single substance. This substance might be regarded as spirit, thus annihilating matter except as a phenomenon, or, better, as an activity of spirit. In this case it would be spiritualistic monism. Or the one substance might be regarded as gross matter, in which case we should have materialistic monism with mind as mere phenomena. In either case monism would be primarily a doctrine as to substance, rather than as to theology or psychology, though these would inevitably demand an explanation at its hands. But, as a matter of fact, monism, as it is known at the present day, is professedly neither spiritualistic nor materialistic. It is an attempt to account for the phenomena of both matter and mind, and yet to avoid the dualism involved in those conceptions. It makes the attempt by postulating a substance which is neither matter as ordinarily conceived nor spirit, but which has the attributes of both, manifesting itself now under the form of extension, now under the form of thought. According to monism the materialists, the spiritualists, and the dualists are alike in error.

To science, which seeks ever to reduce everything to the most elementary conditions, this doctrine has proved exceedingly attractive; and, except a few bold materialists, most scientists of to-day are monists. Not only so, but monism is exceedingly prevalent in the thought of many Christian writers. For all these reasons it is absolutely necessary that it should be examined and weighed with all care and fairness. As a preliminary statement it must be further said that monism in the present day is scarcely distinguished from materialism—so material is the conception of this supposed all-substance—and also that it has formulated a doctrine of psychology and of theology.

Before going further it will be necessary to give the principal arguments by which monists support their contention. These of necessity relate to the systems which monism rejects, namely, dualism, spiritualism, and materialism. Dualism is rejected on the ground that there is no way of explaining how spirit and matter, which are so exceedingly diverse, can affect each other, as, on the supposition that both exist, it appears they do. Of dualism there are two forms, the first emphasizing mind as the cause of motion, the second, mind as the effect of motion. Such is the distinction made by Romanes, himself a monist, and it is probably the best possible putting of it, though we enter our *caveat* when without further ado he identifies spiritualism with that form of dualism which makes mind the cause of motion. The elements of the problem then are mind, matter, motion. When it is proposed to show that mind cannot be the cause of motion we are obliged to examine the process of reasoning. The one argument which Romanes employs is that the supposition that motion in matter considered as an effect of mind violates the scientific doctrine of conservation of energy. We condense his argument. He begins by admitting that the view he combats has the advantage of supposing causality to proceed from the mind, which is the source of our idea of causality, and not from that into which that idea has been read by the mind. Nevertheless, this does not overcome the difficulty which he experiences with the doctrine of the conservation of energy. He writes :

If the mind of man is capable of breaking in as an independent cause upon the otherwise uniform system of natural causation, the only way in which it could do so would be by either destroying or creating certain *quanta* of either matter or energy. But to suppose the mind capable of doing any of these things would be to suppose that the mind is a cause in some other sense than a physical or a natural cause; it would be to suppose that the mind is a supernatural cause, or, more plainly, that all mental activity, so far as it is an efficient cause of bodily movement, is of the nature of a miracle.

This conclusion he designates as *per se* improbable. Its impossibility he considers further on.

In order to avoid confusion let us pause here and examine

the argument as far as it has been carried. We begin with that part of Romanes's objection to mind as the cause of motion in matter which says this would be to make the mind a cause in some other sense than a physical or a natural cause; that is, it would make it a supernatural cause, and all movements of body by mind miraculous. In this objection physical and natural are taken to mean the same thing. A physical cause is a natural cause, and *vice versa*. The mind is neither to be designated as physical nor natural, but as supernatural, and its power to affect the movements of the body miraculous. It appears then that the force of the objection lies in the difficulty which the monist feels in admitting the existence of anything besides the natural, that is, the physical; or, in other words, the monist objects, because he will not consent to the supernatural or, to use his alternative word, the "superphysical." He stumbles at the supernatural—superphysical—and at the miraculous. This objection is of force, therefore, only when one has reached the conclusion beforehand that the supernatural—superphysical—and the miraculous are incredible. But, since the mind is regarded as supernatural, if the supernatural is incredible the mind is incredible. That is, there is nothing corresponding to the ordinary idea of mind which we entertain.

This *reductio ad absurdum* is perhaps sufficient to show the futility of the argument in question. Let us try the former part of the argument, which asserts that if mind breaks in as an independent cause upon the otherwise uniform system of natural—physical—causation it must be either by destroying or creating certain *quanta* of either matter or energy or both. Let us think of physical causes at work, the sum total of matter and force being always the same though changing as to locality and form. Now, is it true that the only ways in which an outside cause could break into this kind of a system would be by destroying or creating, that is, by subtracting from or adding to the matter or the energy of the system or both? It is not true. A third possibility is that the external agent might merely manipulate the matter or force or both, as they would not be manipulated were they left to themselves. Höfding, in answer to this possibility, says that a physical

movement does not change its direction except by the application of a physical force of a given strength. But this affirmation is the point in dispute. It is true that such an external agent would have to exert energy, to change the direction of the energy of the system. But it is not necessary to suppose that such energy would be either increased or diminished by such interference from without. The doctrine of conservation of energy demands that if one body in motion be interfered with by another body the loss of energy in the first shall become an increase of energy in the second. Now, if a superphysical mind could stop a rolling ball the energy of the ball could not, according to the doctrine in question, be imparted to the mind. Hence there would be no diminution in the sum of physical force, for it would remain in the ball. On the other hand, the mind energy could not be imparted to the ball, so that nothing could be added. On the supposition then which Romanes himself makes of the breaking in of an independent cause upon the otherwise uniform system, no energy need be added or subtracted, but the energy would simply be given a new direction.

In fact, Romanes in his argument did not put the dualistic difficulty in its strongest form. The real difficulty is as to the way two supposed entities so wholly diverse in their attributes as mind and matter can affect each other. How can a nonphysical force in any way influence a physical force? The two forces might be supposed to be so different as to be both at work at the same time and place without interfering with each other. It does not appear as though it were difficult to conceive of mind as influencing mind, or of matter as influencing matter; but how can mind influence matter? In fact, however, it is impossible for us to conceive how one particle of matter influences another particle of matter. It is agreed among scientists that matter cannot influence matter across empty space; and yet it is also agreed that no two atoms of matter touch each other. That is, there is seeming contact, yet actual distance, between them. It is one of the profoundest mysteries of science that matter seems to affect other matter. Why then should we stagger at another mystery in the form of matter influenced by mind? In this respect

at least dualism is as explicable as monism. These considerations show that the assumption of matter moved by mind does not carry with it the consequences Romanes supposes, and that if it did, still it would prove nothing to one not already convinced of the incredulity of the miraculous and of the existence of mind. They also show that the assumption is not, as Romanes asserts, improbable *per se*.

But, having attempted to show that the assumption in question is improbable, he next proceeds with the attempt to show that it is virtually impossible. He supposes the case of a sportsman who shoots and kills a bird. The sportsman's volition is supposed to have broken in upon the otherwise continuous stream of physical causes by modifying the molecular movements of the brain in a way to make the aim correct and the gun to discharge at the right instant, by converting the gunpowder into gas, which propelled the lead which killed the bird. The first change in the material world—the brain—was very slight; but owing to the intricate *nexus* of physical causality throughout all nature the introduction of so slight a disturbance is bound to exert an everlasting and ever-widening influence. The mechanical processes of the bird's body, its animal heat, its power to condition other mechanical changes in other lives, its power to propagate its kind with all the physical changes this must have carried with it—all these have come to an end as a direct consequence of the man's volition, thus suddenly breaking in upon the otherwise uniform course of nature. "Now," says Romanes, "I say that, apart from some system of preestablished harmony, it appears simply inconceivable that the order of nature could be maintained at all, if it were thus liable to be interfered with at any moment in any number of points." This argument is designed to show the impossibility of the assumption that mind can cause motion in matter. We wish first of all to determine whether Romanes means to deny that the will is free, and to assert that the will of the sportsman was a part of the chain of physical cause and effect. That this is what he means is evident from the fact that he is arguing against the possibility of an intervention by an independent cause. In other words, he here maintains that the physical system is a closed

circle into which a mind from without could not break except at the risk of introducing the utmost confusion into the system. Now, this is identically the position of materialism; and so monism is thus far materialism. But one of the strongest arguments against materialism is just the consequence of this denial of the place of thought in the system. And indeed it is an argument employed by Romanes himself. In the same work from which we have condensed this argument he sums up the materialistic position thus: "Nowhere can we—according to materialism—suppose the physical process to be interrupted or diverted by the psychical process, and therefore we must consider that thought and volition really play no part whatever in determining action." Such a conclusion he declares to be opposed at once to common sense and methodical reasoning, and he shows the truth of this judgment by a sound argument of some length. We simply turn Romanes loose against himself. The sportsman's thought and volition did or did not play some part in determining his action in taking aim and pulling the trigger. If they did not, as Romanes argues in one part of his work, then materialism is right and Romanes is simply a materialist calling himself by the name of monist. If they did, as Romanes argues later on, then the materialistic Romanes is overcome in argument and fact by the spiritualistic Romanes—not by the monist Romanes, for the argument is that of spiritualism as against materialism. So, then, Romanes has answered himself thus far by showing the unsoundness of the position that thought and volition do not affect action. Hence we conclude, whether the order of nature can or cannot be maintained if man's volition can interfere with that order, that man's volition does so interfere according to Romanes himself.

But is it true that the order of nature cannot be maintained under such conditions? What is meant by the order of nature? Let us answer the second question first. It may perhaps be safely assumed that there is nothing involved in the order of nature except the forces of nature. If they should cease to operate in their regular way the order of nature would be overthrown. If gravitation, cohesion, and chemical affinities, for example, should prove inconstant in their operation there could be no order of nature such as we now have. But it does

not interfere with the order of nature when the action of gravitation in one place is counteracted by its more forceful application in another, as when the weight of the suspension bridge is thrown upon the buttresses. Nor does it interfere with the order of nature when cohesion is called in to aid in checking the local force of gravitation, as in the cables which are employed in the supposed bridge. As a whole the system of nature is not interfered with. The forces of nature are simply manipulated. It cannot even be said that the force of gravitation is suspended in the span of the bridge. It acts just as before; but other forces have been called into exercise by which gravitation in the span does not produce its ordinary effects. But the order of nature is larger than this diminutive earth on which we live, and as yet no human volition has been able to affect this larger order. It goes on in a perfectly uniform way, uninfluenced by human action. We are beginning to reach the point where we can answer the question of the possibility of maintaining the natural order if interfered with by the human will. The human will cannot reach beyond the earth and its atmosphere, and the order of nature in that realm beyond is in no danger from the mind of man. Nor can the human will affect the fundamental order existing even upon the earth. It cannot make or unmake gravitation nor any of the other forces which are operative in the natural world. The most it can do is to change the direction of these forces, and this it can do only by a law of compensation. Thus the order of nature is maintainable on the supposition that human volition can interfere, for that interference is limited. But if by the order of nature is meant that which would be were man not on earth, then it is plain that man has changed that order. He does it every time he destroys or plants a tree, or cultivates a wild plant until it is fit for the flower garden, or dams a stream and turns a watercourse, or builds a house, or weaves a web of cloth and makes a garment. With the order of nature in this sense man's volition is constantly interfering, sometimes for the better and sometimes for the worse. Nay, more; even from beyond our earth and its atmosphere come additions to its *quantum* of matter and force without any perceptible change in the fundamental order.

Numberless meteors fall into our atmosphere. Those which reach the earth's surface and those which do not alike add to the earth matter and force which did not originally belong to it. But the earth swings in its orbit and rotates upon its axis as before, and the action of none of the laws of nature is seriously interrupted. We conclude, therefore, that the monistic argument against dualism is altogether inconclusive.

We are met at the very threshold of the monistic psychology by the fact that there are two distinct tendencies in monistic circles, the first being represented by those who are inclined to idealism, the second by those inclined toward materialism. In English Romanes is a fair representative of the former, and Paul Carus of the latter. Because the Continental thinkers have studied the subject more profoundly and originally we prefer to take them as the standard monists, though their works are in a foreign language. As the representative of the idealistic or spiritual monists we choose Höffding, as he has presented his views in his *Psychology*. But we must guard against thinking of Höffding as a confessed idealist. He says he does not enter on the question whether it is spirit or matter which lies at the foundation of being :

As to the inner relationship of spirit and matter we teach nothing; we assume that one substance (*Wesen*) works in both. What kind of a substance (*Wesen*) is this? Why does it reveal itself in a twofold form? Why is not a single one sufficient? These are questions which lie beyond the realm of our knowledge. Spirit and matter appear to us as an irreducible twofoldness, just as do subject and object. We remove the question farther back, therefore. And this is not only justifiable but even necessary, since it is plain that in reality it lies deeper than is generally believed.

Why then does he insist on thinking that one substance works both in spirit and matter? He gives us several reasons : (1) Because, according to the doctrine of the conservation of energy, we cannot believe the dual theory of interaction between spirit and matter. Let us consider this. According to Höffding himself the doctrine in question is one purely of physics. He makes this declaration the basis of an argument against any causal relation between spirit and matter. But in reality when he limits it to physics he limits it to the brain,

so far as psychology is concerned; and thus the doctrine says nothing about the possibility of an influence from without the system. (2) Because of a series of parallels which he has discovered between the activity of consciousness and the functions of the nervous system. He thinks it would be a wonderful accident if these parallels existed without any fundamental inner connection. But it would be easy to account for these parallels without the theory of accident, on the supposition that mind and brain mutually influence each other. And, as we have seen, there is nothing to hinder us from holding this theory, since its only support is the doctrine of the conservation of energy, which we have proved to be no support. (3) Not only the parallelisms between the activity of consciousness and that of brain, but the equivalency between them he holds to be a proof of the inner connection, or, in other words, of the theory that it is one and the same substance giving a twofold expression to itself. But, in fact, there is no such equivalency. This Romanes has clearly demonstrated, though in the interest of monism, as he supposed. Höffding seems to have confused the fact that there is a proportion between brain development and the degree or grade of consciousness with the thought of a proportion between brain activity and activity of consciousness.

Höffding also discusses the question whether there are not some mental processes which are not in any way connected with brain action, and comes to the conclusion that there are no such mental processes. We are not particular as to the settlement of this question, since, if we may suppose all mental processes connected with brain action, the question is not thereby answered as to which is cause and which effect. And in no case is it necessary, with monism, to deny causality in the relation, and to make both effects. For, as we have repeatedly pointed out, dualism as well accounts for the facts as does monism. And perhaps this is as good a place as we shall find to show that dualism is a better explanation of the twofold activity than is monism. This is unquestionably the case, once we have conquered the inveterate prejudice against the idea of interaction between mind and body. For, as Höffding says with all frankness, monism is not a complete

solution of the problem of the relation between soul and body; and this supposed inner connection is inexplicable, lying beyond the limits of our knowledge. Now, we do not pretend that dualism is a complete explanation of the relation of soul and body. That there can be any effective relation between the two is a mystery, a part of the broader mystery of effective relation between things in general. But dualism explains what monism fails to explain, while it can explain everything that monism can explain. We can best make this clear by reference to an expression employed by Höffding. He says that the thoughts, feelings, and purposes of which we are conscious in inner experience have their counterpart in the physical world in certain processes of the brain. "It is as though one and the same content were expressed in two languages." Now, we ask, Is it likely that two languages would be needed to express the same content or fact? Is it not more likely that the two languages give expression to two distinct facts? Besides, the monistic theory supposes that it is one and the same substance which speaks these two languages. It is, indeed, not unusual for one person to speak two languages, but it is an unheard-of thing for the same person to have two native languages. Yet here is a supposed substance which expresses the same fact in two languages, both of which are native to it. We affirm that it is much more natural to suppose that there are two entities corresponding to these two languages. Particularly is it more natural since, according to Höffding himself, these languages have nothing in common. They differ, not as two human languages differ, but as the languages of two beings might be supposed to differ whose attributes are mutually exclusive of each other. We fully recognize that Höffding used a figure of speech; but we have kept to the thought which his figure sought to express, and have shown thereby the improbability of monism and the probability of dualism.

We turn our attention next to that class of monists who lean toward materialism, and we take for the representatives of this class August Forel, professor in the University of Zurich, and Ernst Haeckel, professor in the University of Jena. Forel has defined and defended the monistic position with great

ingenuity in a small work of recent date, and Haeckel has published what he calls his confession of faith, in which he sounds the high praises of monism as a bond of unity between religion and science. It is a striking illustration of the fact that our daily occupations predispose our tendencies to find Höffding, the philosopher, tending toward idealism, and Forel and Haeckel, the men of natural science, tending toward materialism, yet all professing to deal with the same data and to represent the same system. Both parties have a right on the field, since monism professes to be a philosophical conception which is the outcome and result of science in its maturest shape. Of course all monists repudiate materialism in its baldest form—Carus, Forel, Haeckel, and all the rest—and we do not question their honesty of spirit. That they work into the hands of a purely materialistic view of the soul is nevertheless true.

We shall attempt to state in brief the principal doctrines of the more materialistic monistic psychology. According to Forel brain and soul are one; each phenomenon of soul has its material aspect, and each material phenomenon has its psychical, though in the main more elementary, aspect; there is no brain without soul, and no complex soul, analogous to our own, without brain; psychology and brain physiology are but two different ways of looking at the same thing. Consequently, according to both Forel and Haeckel, the investigation of the phenomena of soul belongs within the domain of the descriptive, experimental sciences of nature; the soul must be studied, not as an immaterial thing, but in the organ of the soul, the brain, since scientific psychology is a part of physiology. It should be noted here that by the brain as the organ of the soul these men do not mean an instrument which the soul employs for its purposes, but that which produces the soul. Again, they teach that the human being is not the only existence which has a soul, but that there is a soul in everything—in each atom, in each living cell of plant and animal, in the lowest, the highest, and the intermediate forms of life. As to consciousness in relation to the soul Forel is as unclear as possible. He says that the essence of the idea of soul lies in that of consciousness, which he defines as the faculty of

inner vision and of reflecting external objects in this inner vision. Yet he says that it would be impossible to prove that any activity in the world is unconsciousness, and seems to identify consciousness with attention. In one place he says that human consciousness, soul, the content of consciousness, activity of the brain, and brain matter are but forms in which one and the same thing appears, and not separable from each other, though logically distinguished by our faculty of abstraction. Haeckel is rather more clear. He says that the soul is a function of the brain, and that what we call human soul is but the sum of our sensibility, volitions, and thoughts—the sum of the physiological functions whose elementary organs the microscopic ganglia cells of our brain constitute—and he confesses that we can definitely prove the existence of consciousness only in the highest animals. In a note he asserts that the soul is a sum of plasma movements in the ganglia cells. Thus the soul is from one aspect the sum of sensibility, volition, thought, and from another it is movement in matter organized in a certain way.

Now, in accordance with the theory that brain and soul are one Forel attempts to explain sensation and other mental phenomena physiologically. He first explains that the peculiar property of the nervous system is the power to convey an excitation swiftly by a sort of wavelike movement. For the sake of brevity we shall call this wavelike movement a wave. Explaining sensation, he says that it occurs in the cerebrum, plainly at the point of arrival of the wave which started from that portion of the periphery of the nervous system which was the subject of the excitation. Here it meets with other coordinated waves and wakens countless other associated waves which, in an infinitesimally weakened form, or as one might say in a state of slumber, continue to swing on as a sort of memory of their original vigor, or which stand ready in some other mysterious way to be aroused. These traces of memory exist together in the most multitudinous, though orderly and harmonious, union, or in so-called association. The wave which wakens these slumbering or weakly swinging waves, those memories of former sensations, strengthens and changes in part the whole associated complex. The result of this is to affect other

series of complexes, partly checking them, partly strengthening them. Some of these strengthening waves result in impulses of the will, and produce movements. Having given us this powerful effort, Forel admits that, if we must approximately represent the process of thought as just given, we must not forget that there are many other forms of waves which are wholly unclear—for example, how the brain waves which result in emotion are conditioned—also that there are processes accompanied by an effort which we call attention.

This, then, is the monistic account of sensation, accompanied by the confession that it is but approximate and that the profounder contents of consciousness are not explicable. Now we call attention to the fact that this is not a description of the process of thought at all, but only of certain movements in the brain which have been arbitrarily identified with thought. The monist takes such a material view of things that he cannot see that the brain movements are one thing and the thought another. Forel could have learned from Höffding that it is purely a figure when memory is attributed to any phenomenon of the physical world. And it is a purely hypothetical account even of the connection of these hypothetical waves. It is pure assumption that waves which reached the brain went to sleep there, but continued to exist, ready to wake up when called upon. The figure of speech has nothing to correspond to it. It is another pure assumption that these original waves continue to be waves, though in a weaker measure. And it is a pure assumption that new waves have the power to strengthen weakened waves. So that, even from the physiological standpoint, we have learned nothing to the point. Yet we are told that we must not any longer study the mind in its own phenomena, but in the phenomena of brain movement. Then, too, why make this demand and at the same time confess its impossibility, as we see that Forel has done in the confession noted above? Another thing that Forel insists upon as proving the physiological character of thought is the relation of brain conditions to mental activity. He declares that the study of the brain and of mental diseases shows that when the cerebrum is injured the result is at once seen in psychical changes, though he admits that not every such injury results in serious

mental impairment. The point as to how much injury the brain can suffer without loss of mental power is not altogether settled. Carus gives a number of instances of injured brains which resulted in loss of bodily movements in various members, but in all of which the mental power remained intact. One of the instances was that of a general whose mental activity and professional judgment were left unimpaired, but who wearied easily when engaged in intellectual pursuits. Carus says that, if one hemisphere of the brain remains sound the loss of sensory and other centers in the other hemisphere will be marked only by tiring more easily than when both hemispheres are intact. But, if the theory of monism as given by Forel be true, loss of brain matter in considerable quantities ought to result in loss of mental activity in variety and intensity. That instead of this the result is quicker weariness in intellectual labor shows that the intellectual worker, the mind, is in possession of an instrument which by reason of its injuries cannot serve as long as it once did without fatigue. The intellect must give the relatively small amount of brain more work to do. The intellect remains the same, but the servant is weakened. Besides, Forel quietly assumes the facts to prove his theory, whereas they are as capable of explanation on dualistic as on monistic grounds. Let us suppose that all he says is true, and still the question would be, Is the alleged difference in mental power real or only apparent? Does the injury to the brain really decrease mental power, or does it only decrease the facility with which the intellect expresses itself? Forel assumes the former, and then draws the conclusion that brain action and mental action are practically identical. This is a circle of reasoning as perfect in its kind as the famous circle of Giotto. In fact, brain injury does limit bodily movement in some cases; but that does not prove that there is any loss of will power. The disturbance in the physiological functions is admitted, but not that in the mental functions.

It is time to turn our attention to Haeckel. His wide reputation, arising in part from his real services to science in some of its departments and in part from the natural vigor of his mind, which leads him to give forcible expression to whatever position he holds, lends his before-mentioned work an impor-

tance far beyond its ability. As a compendium of assertions and assumptions in the interest of monism it probably has no equal. But, as Haeckel is a scientist, and as scientists are popularly supposed to be very exact in statement and rigid in their demands for proof before they will accept anything as fact, his words will carry immense weight with a certain class of readers. We desire to call attention then to the fact that, whatever may be Haeckel's merits when dealing with biological phenomena, the philosophical interpretation of these phenomena is more likely to be conducted properly by one whose life is devoted to philosophy than by one whose field of research has been the material realm. On this point David Friedrich Strauss, whom Haeckel calls the greatest theologian of our century, is correct when he says:

Philosophy alone, considered as metaphysics, is able to furnish the ideas of energy and matter, substance and phenomena, cause and effect, those finest instruments with which the student of nature hourly operates; it alone can teach us how to apply them with logical correctness. The scientist can receive from the hand of philosophy alone the Ariadne clew to the labyrinth of the daily increasing mass of observed facts; and philosophy alone can furnish the scientist with the only possible information in the regions which contain the questions of beginning and end, limitation or limitlessness, purpose or accident, in the world.

Had Haeckel heeded this suggestion his attempt to construe the world from a philosophical point of view would have been, to say the least, more modest. Let the reader, therefore, not be prejudiced in favor of Haeckel's philosophy; for Haeckel is not a philosopher but a scientist. Let Haeckel furnish the facts, and let philosophers interpret them. As we have already said, Höfding, the philosopher, interprets the facts quite differently from Forel and Haeckel, the scientists.

We have given Haeckel's description of the soul. We now give Höfding's estimate of Haeckel's view:

One sometimes meets in the utterances of physiologists who have some philosophical education the statement that the activity of consciousness is a function of the brain. It appears, however, as though the strictly physiological use of the expression "function" must contradict such a statement. That, for example, contraction is the function of muscle says nothing but that it—contraction—is a given form and condition of muscle in movement. . . . Muscle in function is as material as muscle in

rest, and what does not possess the attributes of matter cannot be the form of activity of anything material. The idea of function in the physiological sense points, as truly as the idea of matter or product, to something which meets us in the form of space as an object of perception. Thoughts and feelings cannot be represented as objects in space or as movements. We learn them—thoughts and feelings—not by external perception, but by the sensibility of self and by self-consciousness. . . . By many roundabout ways it is finally discovered that certain phenomena of consciousness are connected with certain definite parts of the brain. And there is no doubt that the highest activities of consciousness have their corresponding brain functions. . . . But the action of consciousness and the functions of the brain we constantly learn to know by means of different experimental sources. Materialism overreaches itself by obliterating this essential distinction. By giving to brain the power of consciousness—that is, by making consciousness a function of brain—or perhaps even making the brain the subject of the manifestations of consciousness, the materialist returns to the mythological fantastic standpoint.

These words were written to oppose materialism. But in this respect there is no difference between materialism and Haeckel's monism. Both make the soul a function of brain.

That Höffding and Haeckel, the philosopher and scientist, disagree is further evident from additional remarks of the latter. Says Höffding, commenting on the preceding quotation from his *Psychology*: "We have in mind here more especially empirical or phenomenological materialism, that is, that view which makes it a result of experimental science that the phenomena of consciousness are forms or effects of material phenomena, so that all reality may be reduced to motion in space." We pause in the quotation to show that this is just what Haeckel does. He says, "The neurological problem of consciousness—note that he assumes that consciousness is a neurological problem—is only a special one contained in the all-comprehensive cosmological problem, the problem of substance. If we had an understanding of the nature of matter and force we should also understand how the substance which forms their basis could, under given conditions, feel, desire, and think." And in another part of the same work he says, "The facts of consciousness and its relation to the brain are not less and not more puzzling than the facts of seeing, hearing, gravitation, and the connection of matter and force." As quoted before, Haeckel declares that the soul is a sum of plasma movements

in the ganglia cells. Here he plainly speaks not of the equal degrees of mystery. He identifies the mysteries of consciousness and the mysteries in the physical world. Now hear what Höffding has to say to the view in question.

Even if he [the empirical materialist] were right in all his assertions, still he constantly overlooks something which raises a new, and to him an alarming, problem—the fact, namely, that motion in space is known to us only as an object of our consciousness. From the standpoint of the theory of knowledge, therefore, such ideas as consciousness, representation, and perception lie deeper than the ideas of matter and motion. . . . What we have here tried to do is, however, not to point out the inconsequence, from the standpoint of the theory of knowledge, which [empirical] materialism is guilty of by the demand that consciousness shall recognize as the absolutely original and only real, that which is given only as an object of consciousness, and which can only be represented and known by the activity of consciousness itself. Our object here, on the other hand, is only to determine what view the given compels us to take; and the result of our criticism of materialism is that it sins against the very ideas we gain from experience.

We must now briefly note several other points. For example, Haeckel's description of the soul as the sum of mental states or of physical movements makes no provision for our consciousness of personal unity. It denies the existence of a unit in the soul, and so fails to explain how we have a sense of unity or can be aware of a multiplicity. This is possible only to an individual. For example, it would be logically possible to an atom-soul, but not to a complex brain-soul. Again, monism denies the freedom of the will. Says Höffding, "Psychology, like every other science, must be deterministic; that is, it must proceed on the supposition that the law of causality includes the action of the will, just as it assumed that it includes other phenomena of consciousness and material nature." Such, indeed, is the doctrine of all monists. It is true they do in some cases speak of the freedom of the will; but by that they mean freedom to do what one wills, not to will freely. And some of them, like the materialists, claim that the doctrine of freedom in its usual form is incompatible with the preaching of morality. But, in fact, if our choices are necessitated in any true sense of the word, then we all labor under a tremendous delusion. But the quotation we

have just given from Höffding contains an allusion to a third point which we cannot leave unnoticed. It is the expression about each and every phenomena of consciousness as included along with material nature under the law of causality. This is the old materialistic doctrine which denies freedom even to our thought. And here, as there, it cannot be allowed without destroying the validity of all thought. For if one thought is necessitated every thought is also. Hence when we think differently from others their thoughts and ours have equal value for truth; that is, no thought can be said to be true or false. Again, monism as truly as materialism finds no place for individual immortality. Carus discusses at length the question, Is death a finality? and gives it a negative answer. He even speaks of the immortality of the soul. But the careful reader will see that it is not the immortality of the individual, but of the father and mother who, though they die, live in their children. It is strange he did not recall those numerous human beings who are destined to live celibate lives, and those other numerous husbands and wives who have no "life after death in the coming generations," because nature affords them no offspring, or whose progeny become extinct.

The monists are loud in their professed renunciation of materialism. And no doubt they are honest. But it is strange they do not see that their path is the same in all essential respects as that of their declared foe, and that at the end of the journey they therefore reach the same goal. And, finally, monism does not do away with the fact that there is a dualism between mentality and matter. It only changes the relation they sustain to each other. Thought and extension have the same mutually exclusive character as in dualism, only these mutually exclusive somethings are regarded as two ways of looking at one self-consistent substance. We have seen that it is more natural to suppose that two such wholly unlike phenomena are the aspects of two wholly different substances, and cannot resist the conclusion that as between dualism and monism in psychology the former has taken the more tenable position.

Charles W. Rishell.

ART. III.—"HAMLET"—A CHARACTER SKETCH.

THE whole range of literature furnishes nothing more difficult than the intelligent study and interpretation of "Hamlet." It is a strange, weird, and subtle work. It has been styled an enigma of character; but it is more than that, it is a mystery baffling all attempts to a complete or generally accepted solution. Here are blended "the heartaches" and the thousand natural shocks flesh is heir to, human infirmities, human afflictions, and supernatural agency. Here are intertangled questions of melancholy, pathology, metaphysics, and demonology. Here are thoughts of life, death, the secrets of the grave, the dread hereafter, the dreams it may bring, and the illimitable and well-nigh omnipotent powers within us. Here the student of intense thought, of earnest love, and of superior grasp of imagination is thrilled by more than kindred inspirations; and sometimes he is even visited by dreams and is not unblest by visions. Here on every page are disclosed vast treasures of knowledge and lines of reflection that "sadden the heart, cloud the mind, and fire the brain."

It is not easy to measure the magnitude and complexity of the work. It is difficult to describe a great mountain, the thousandth part of whose surface cannot be traversed or seen in an hour, while in its bowels are inexhaustible quarries and mines. The resources and mysteries of "Hamlet" will account for the extent and variety of criticism and interpretation. The number of commentators is well-nigh illimitable; they are of many countries, every grade of society, men bred to different vocations and living in different generations of the world's history. But all these many attempts to reveal its treasures have failed to quiet the questionings of intelligent students. We venture to say that criticism will never be complete until some master spirit like the author himself shall be breathed through the commentary. So ideal and so real an existence as Hamlet cannot be shadowed forth by the critic's pen. Yet it is highly proper that every generation and every student should attempt his own interpretation. By becoming lost in its mazes of thought we realize more of its wealth, and

gain loftier conceptions and a deeper insight into the wonders of human nature.

"Hamlet" is the leading production of the leading class of Shakespeare's compositions, and differs in some respects from all others. The tragedies to which it belongs differ from the historical plays in that they are chiefly conceived of from the standpoint of thought and feeling. In the tragedies we are concerned with what man is; in the histories, with what he does. The tragedies treat of the infinite issues of life and death, the historical plays of the finite issues of failure and success and the achievements of practical ends. The former deal with the deep mysteries of being; the latter, with a real and firm grasp on the actual world. So there is a like separative gulf between the tragedies and the comedies. The former are concerned with the ruin or restoration of the soul, their subject is the struggle of good and evil in the world; the latter in comparison play upon the mere surface of human life, and scarcely reach the real depth of human experience. But even among the tragedies there is a sense in which "Hamlet" stands alone. While it is of the same order as "Othello," "Macbeth," and "King Lear," it is not of the same substance or essence. "Hamlet" differs from others emphatically in this, that it is the study of an individual life. The heart of the composition is not the representation of a theory or of an idea; it is not a fragment of political philosophy, nor the dramatic study of some period in the history of civilization, but it is the expression of the author's profound sympathy with an individual soul, a representation of the individual man, not men; and for that representation the wonderful creation came into being. It is the sum of the musings of the great author on the life we live here. And so the essence of this play, and especially of its hero, is the human soul, mind, reason, understanding, will-power, and passion.

This then is clear, that the play of "Hamlet" is Hamlet. There are other not insignificant characters. Horatio is the scholar, the perfect gentleman, the untarnished life, the faithful friend. Claudius is a man of no ordinary cast; some of his speeches have a ring of majesty in them. Laertes is not without commendable traits of character. Ophelia is sufficient to

fill the eye, and to make the heart beat and tremble within itself. Even Gertrude has some redeeming touches of nature. But the whole plot hinges upon the character of Hamlet. It has been well said that the author's conception of him is the "*ovum* out of which the whole organism is hatched." When he is on the boards our interest is intense, and we are satisfied; when he is off we are impatient. From his acts and feelings everything in the drama takes its color and pursues its course. This play, more than any other production from the pen of Shakespeare, exists, awakens interest, challenges criticism in the character of its hero. In the other dramas the story makes a part of the conception, but in "Hamlet" the deep and abiding interest is Hamlet himself. We love Hamlet not because he is witty or melancholy or filial, but because he is himself; because he is an intense conception of individual human life, and because he is a being whose springs of action, thought, and feeling are deeper than we can search. In him is concentrated all human interest, the elements of frailty and of grandeur. Let us study then, as best we can, the hero; let our thoughts cluster around this individual life. Let us consider him as if he were a real character, present to the eye as well as to the mind, a recently deceased acquaintance.

When introduced into the drama he is supposed to have been thirty years of age. In personal appearance Goethe would have us believe he was a fair-haired, blue-eyed youth, and, inasmuch as the fencing wearies him and he becomes easily heated by exercise, that he must have been well-conditioned, or, according to the queen's remark, "fat and scant of breath;" that his melancholy, alleged inactivity, soft sorrows, perpetual indecision, lack of determination and resolution necessarily demand the complexion and temper here indicated. But we are disposed to figure to ourselves a princely form, one that outshone all others in manly beauty, and to adorn it with all liberal accomplishments. We can behold in every look and gesture, every action, the future king,

The courtier's, soldier's, scholar's eye, tongue, and sword;
The expectancy and woe of the fair state,
The glass of fashion and the mold of form,
The observed of all observers.

When Hamlet first appears everything is to his praise; although there is evidence of natural melancholy there is no predisposition to morbid feeling or faulty temperament and no question of sanity. He is the esteemed of Fortinbras, the friend of Horatio, and the beloved of Ophelia. During the life of his father he is sheltered from any rough contact with the world, as well as restrained therefrom by natural tastes. He has lived through youth and come into the years of manhood, and is still a hunter of the university, a student of philosophy, an amateur in art, and a ponderer on the things of life and death; and it may be said he has never been compelled to form a resolution or execute a deed. He has passed these years in manly thought and manly arts; his habits have been those of retirement, study, and meditation. He has been at school at Wittenberg, and the hint that he is to return thither shows with what ardor and enthusiasm he surrenders himself to the intellectual research. But in all this devotion to study and to the university, as Mr. Hudson has said, he has kept undimmed the vision and faculty divine which nature has planted within him. So that he still apprehends more things in heaven and in earth than are dreamed of in our philosophy. In activity and force of intellectual powers, in breadth and variety of acquisitions, and in ardor and enthusiasm of research he is superior. Morally he is upright, honest, pure. His aims are lofty, his motives and impulses generous. He seems to have been in an unimpassioned search for what is beautiful and right. Up to this time he has been sheltered from the active world where human nature reveals itself as it is; and, as he has been accustomed to think and judge of the world by the honesty and purity of his own spirit, he has not yet found in men or in the world anything to bar or quench his impulse of trust. His strong-willed, self-reliant, and affectionate father has been to him an ideal character, and whatever ideas and images of beauty and strength he has gathered from study he associates with his father's name. He has borne the relation of son, prince, gentleman, scholar, lover, and friend, and has endeavored to be true to all these relations and to approve himself accomplished and capable. His expectations are such as to kindle and enlist his

noblest powers; his plans and preparations for life are to succeed his father on the throne. Thus, when he first appears in the drama he stands before us a richly endowed, generous, pure nature—one of lofty aims. Fortune has smiled upon his pathway. In his inheritance, education, social position, royal connection, and expectation he is a prince of fortune.

Before we proceed to inquire after the further developments and tendencies of his life we must here consider the effects of this education and this previous training. First, they serve to make Hamlet more conversant with ideas than with facts. It is said that Romeo loses sight of facts because everything melts away into a delicious emotion; but Hamlet expands and transforms everything into an idea. It would seem that up to this time he has received every kind of culture but the culture of an active life. Perhaps Shakespeare meant to show, as Coleridge suggests, "the moral necessity of a due balance between our attention to objects of our senses and to the working of our own minds, so that an equilibrium may be preserved between the real and imaginary worlds." In Hamlet this balance is disturbed; his thoughts and the images of his fancy are far more vivid than his actual perceptions, and even his natural perceptions are changed into unnatural forms and colors when brought under the influence of contemplations. There is great intellectual activity, great energy of resolve, but an aversion to some forms of real action. This aversion has usually been attributed to a natural disinclination to do, a mere theoretical education, and to subsequent paralyzing environment of his life. We shall inquire, a little further on, if this view does not need modification. A second defect in his education is found in an impaired capacity for belief. Belief is in part the result of will-power, and that he has not well developed. He seems unable to adjust the finite and the infinite. He has great difficulty in his attempts to make real to himself the actual world. Actual phenomena flit before him as something accidental and unreal. Sometimes the mistaken notion has crept into the world that the material hinders, does not help, belief. We all recall how at times Hamlet wavers between spiritualism and materialism, between his belief in immortality and unbelief, between a reliance on Providence and a yielding to fate.

In the presence of the ghost a sense of his own immortality and spiritual existence grows strong within him. When left to himself he wavers to and fro. Death is a sleep, it may be troubled with dreams. In the graveyard, in the presence of human dust, the base affinities of our nature seem to possess for him a great charm. His mind wanders hither and thither, at times seeming incapable of certitude. This we know is more true of him in the early conflict than further on.

We come to study the environments of Hamlet and their effects upon him. No man is independent of his surroundings, no man can escape entirely from the influence of the world about him. There is no such thing as naked manhood. Not only no man liveth to himself, but society lives for or against him. No man is independent of the social and moral conditions under which he lives and acts. Hamlet, as Professor Dowden makes clear, is identified with two groups of characters which have much to do with his development. The first group is the king and queen. He is summoned from school on the occasion of his father's death. When he first stands before us his father has been dead two months. His mother has been the wife of Claudius one half that time. He is surrounded with shows and words of mourning. Moral purity and moral sensitiveness intuitively detect something wrong. He is soon satisfied that all is hollow and false. It is not long before he sees signs of dark intrigue and conspiracy; his sensitive nature not only feels that there is something wrong, but that every possible effort is made to make him the victim of deception. He is alone and solitary in the midst of the court. He could have borne the loss of his father, though that were a severe shock. His mother is still spared to him, or rather to life. Had she died too he could have retained his normal condition of mind. But in her hasty marriage he reads a tale of indecent and criminal passion. His anticipation of the kingdom is canceled, his hopes of succession are gone. He now becomes a man of sorrow and wounded feeling. Life becomes a burden to him, and were it not for the work to be done he would be rid of it, rather than cherish it as a blessing. When Marcellus exclaims, "Something is rotten in the State of Denmark," Hamlet feels that all is rotten. "The whole

head is sick, and the whole heart faint." On the throne where his revered father had sat is the mere appearance of a king—a wretched, corrupt, and cowardly soul—as Hamlet describes him, "a vice of kings," "a villain," and a "cutpurse," "a pad-dock," "a jib." And what is the queen? She is one of two women of whom Hamlet must judge womanhood. For thirty years she had been the wife of his father, a husband upon whom

Every god did seem to set his seal,
To give the world assurance of a man;

one who in the place of penance still retains his solicitude for her. But Hamlet now sees that in all these years she had borne his father no true love; her love had not been founded upon the essential, but upon the accidental. She had evidently never known what is the bond of life to life, of soul to soul. Then it is that a feeling of disappointment, shame, and disgust are thrown back upon him; and, after suffering a while self-suppression and struggling with it, he "impacks his heart in words," and permits acrid answers, a morbid humor, and a wounded, irritated nature to find expression. His first great soliloquy will show the weariness of his spirit, the burden of his heart, and the crowding, swarming thoughts of his mind. Here we see his excited mental condition. The tedium of life has overtaken him. He seems to feel that if the base affinities of our nature could only melt away like the mist upon the mountain side, then the vile things of life would be gone forever. Life here is stale, flat, unprofitable, an unweeded garden, and if

The Everlasting had not fixed
His canon 'gainst self-slaughter—

evidently the burden would cease to be borne.

A second group of characters are introduced in Act i, Scene 3. It consists of Polonius, Laertes, and Ophelia. They have their influence on Hamlet, and are made to reveal more completely his individuality, and a fuller analysis and development of his own life must be realized from his relation and feeling toward them. Of this second group of characters let us first consider Polonius. Hamlet has been accused of cruel, if not causeless, aversion—we may say antipathy, even hatred—toward Polonius. Hamlet's representation of Polo-

nius is not flattering, and has led to a partially incorrect representation of his own real character. True, there is not much to commend in Polonius, but he is not the mere doodle, not a mere driveling caricature of methodical, prying, garrulous, blear-eyed, avaricious dotage. If not better, he is at least stronger, than that—something more than a mere anile buffoon. Polonius in his time must have had a fair share of worldly wisdom, cunning, and strength, but he has become somewhat superannuated. He is now a sort of venerable ruin, haunted with the specter of departed abilities. He is already living in the past, without knowing it. He knows that he was once strong, and is not conscious of developed weakness. Dotage has already encroached upon wisdom. As Dr. Johnson aptly says, "He is knowing in retrospect, but has no foresight." To use the figure of Coleridge, he is "like the light in the stern of the ship that illumines only that part of the course already traversed." He has had much experience, but has lost the power of applying his experience to any pressing, passing emergency, and so is practically weak. Polonius is therefore incapable of understanding Hamlet, and his attempts to approach him, or explain him, or pry into him, or use him, are but so many revelations of his own weakness. Polonius is not governed by any high philosophical principle. "His honor and honesty are of the courtier's measure, and are more of the serpent than of the dove." He is a master of indirect means of getting at the truth. He revels in the mysteries of wire-pulling, trap-setting, and cunning craftiness. His morality is seen in the first scene of the second act. Reynaldo is set as a spy over the conduct of his son, upon whom the parental blessing had been bestowed so tenderly a short time before. It is evident that the father does not expect morality of an ideal kind from the son. He expects the boy to sow his "wild oats," and if he will return from school an accomplished cavalier, a master of fencing, able to finger the lute, Polonius will treasure up in his heart, not discontented, his "wild slips and sallies." He says some wise things, but his wisdom is never the outflow of a rich, deep nature, but the accumulation of a long and superficial experience. His wisdom consists of set maxims, such wisdom as might be set down for the headlines of a copybook.

Not only what his character was, but what he probably and really was, to Hamlet must be considered. Polonius being the confidential agent and adviser of the king may have had a hand in diverting the course of the succession. Again he is Ophelia's father, and as such has enjoined her not to keep company with Hamlet. Perhaps properly enough, but paternal prudence rarely escapes the resentment of disappointed lovers, and the ambiguous epithets used by the Danish prince show that he was not an exception. But, what is still worse, Polonius betrays his purpose of "pumping" Hamlet. This purpose he pursues by a maneuvering imbecility that rendered his age contemptible for its weakness and odious for its indirection. It is not strange that between the time-serving, patient, and deceptive Polonius and the impatient and open-hearted Hamlet there should arise an utter antipathy and that Hamlet should throw dust in the dim, prying eyes of the old counselor while living, and not unnatural—though we do not say justifiable—that after, in a feverish flash of excitement, he had "stabbed him like a rat behind the arras," he should pour out upon his carcass the same scornful irony.

The second member of the second group is Laertes. Between Hamlet and Laertes there are one or two points of comparison. Both are young and advantageously related. Both have been absent at school, ostensibly at least seeking intellectual culture. Both manifest warm and filial affection. Each has lost a father, and that, too, by foul means, and both are seeking revenge. But between them there is the boldest contrast. Hamlet has the highest sentiment and principles; Laertes has no moral scruples. Hamlet has an overweight of thought; Laertes is sadly superficial. Hamlet is evermore revolving in his mind the deepest and darkest, the most far-reaching and significant problems; Laertes sees in life no special significance. Hamlet thinks and afterward, if at all, acts; Laertes first acts and then thinks, if he chooses to indulge in thinking. Hamlet sees many reasons for delay in the execution of significant deeds; Laertes is unembarrassed by results. Hamlet analyzes his motives, and is therefore cautious; Laertes is without introspection and foresight, and is therefore reckless and little more than the victim of his

own destructive impulses. Hamlet hesitates and shudders at the thought of what may come as the result of deeds performed; Laertes simply burns with feelings of resentment and revenge. Hamlet's feeling of friendship in its fidelity and sacredness is akin to worship; Laertes is incapable of the real possession and worthy manifestation of this virtue. Hamlet is the student of philosophical Wittenberg; Laertes attends school at the French capital, so dear to the average sensual man. We know from Hamlet's soliloquies what questions occupied his thoughts; what lessons Laertes learned in Paris we may judge from the conversation of Polonius with his servant Reynaldo. Surely there can be nothing in common between Hamlet, meditative, philosophical, sincere, honest, lofty in thought, pure in purpose, noble in sentiment and feeling, and Laertes, of superficial accomplishments, "theatrical chivalry, and show gallantry."

The third member of this group is Ophelia. The feelings of Hamlet for Ophelia and his treatment of her are very difficult of interpretation. Of Ophelia the critics are accustomed to say the most beautiful things. Mrs. Jameson, with all her marvelous buoyancy and brilliancy of style, speaks of the good and fair Ophelia, too fair to be cast among the briers of this everyday world and to fall and to bleed upon the thorns of life. She portrays for us her mute eloquence, her exquisite delicacy, her deep love and her deeper grief, her helplessness, and her innocence. Ophelia is to her "like the strains of some sad music that comes floating by on the wings of night and silence; she is the exhalation of the violet dying upon the sense it charms; like the snowflake that dissolves in the air before it has caught a strain of earth; like the light surf severed from the billow, which a breath disperses."

Mr. Hudson, who in powers of analysis of Shakespeare's characters is of commanding ability, thinks that the author's genius appears angelic in its steps and tones of purity, reverence, and human-heartedness as he delineates the character of Ophelia. The distinguished critic seems almost lost in his musings upon her pathetic sweetness, her perfect simplicity, the perfect whiteness of soul which he sees manifested in

her, upon the spontaneous beating of her heart in unison with the soul of nature, upon the incense that arises from her crushed spirit as she "turns thought, affection, passion, hell itself, to favor and to prettiness." If the reader fully sympathizes with these critics in their estimate of Ophelia we would be sorry, were it in our power, to dispel his pleasing impression of any party so innocent as Ophelia. But to our thinking the defects of Ophelia are either overlooked or underestimated. There is here a lack of energy of feeling, of imagination, of will; there is an incapable sweetness and gentleness of heart, a timidity and self-distrust that impair the symmetry of character. Professor Dowden has given us a more correct estimate of Ophelia, and of what she was and was not to Hamlet: "What is Ophelia? She is a tender little fragile soul, grown into her maturity in some neat garden plot of life. What can she contribute to the deliverance of Hamlet from his brooding thought, melancholy, and weakness? Nothing whatever. Hamlet needs a vigorous, self-reliant, and strong nature. He has fallen into the too common error of supposing that a man gains rest and composure through the presence of a nature weak, gentle, and clinging. This is a mistake Hamlet finally learned, and the discovery bitterly disappointed him." A little study of Scene 1, in both Acts ii and iii, will show this to be true. After his letters had been repelled and Ophelia's presence had been denied him, he determined once more to see her and to hear her voice. He discovers Ophelia sewing in her closet. Ungartered, pale and trembling he rushes into her presence, seizes her hand, "then goes to the length of all his arm" and with his other hand over his brow "falls into such a perusal of her face as he would draw it." He cannot utter a word. Then follow the significant gestures, and a sigh rises from the depth of his spirit. He feels that all is over; Ophelia is to him without virtue or strength. He now in an agony of sorrow realizes that she is incapable of receiving what he has bestowed, and therefore cannot return what his heart craves. He now knows that she can neither receive nor give gifts of the soul. They may exchange tokens of love, but not love. And so Hamlet is compelled to say, "I never

gave you aught." He cannot give what she is incapable of receiving.

The treatment of Ophelia by Hamlet has been much criticised. We do not attempt to justify it. It has, however, its explanation. To Hamlet's soul, already shocked by the suspicions of the general falseness and foulness of the entire court, such suspicions as he could not resist nor repress, there is suddenly added the appearance of the ghost. It comes to make revelations so terrible and to impose burdens so great that they could not be entertained had they not come to him from or through a supernatural agency. The influence this royal shadow had over the mind of Hamlet must be seen both from the manner and degree with which it impresses us and the method in which it executes its mission. Though the production would possess great powers without this supernatural element, yet we all know that it throws over the composition a preternatural grandeur without which it never could have had the universal ascendancy it has so long possessed. The popular remembrance of the words of the ghost show how deeply they have sunk into the souls of humanity, and disclose the realness of its appearance. It must therefore not be treated as a mere illusion. The age in which Shakespeare wrote, the nature of dramatic representation, the very idea of poetry which deals with symbols realized by the imagination require that the apparition shall be regarded as a real though unobjective existence. Accordingly the appearance is authenticated with the most matter-of-fact exactness. The reality of the appearance is unquestioned, and this exactness of representation adds greatly to its force. It is produced before several witnesses, Horatio and the rivals of his watch. The details are worthy of the most careful study. Observe the chill night, the dreary platform, the routine of changing guard, the plain courtesy of the soldiers, the incredulity of the scholar, the imperfect narration interrupted by the entrance of the royal shade, the passing to and fro of the "perturbed spirit." Never was a majestic spirit more majestically revealed. See the shadow of its kingly grandeur and its warlike might. It passes before us sad, silent, and stately; its words are solemn and slowly measured; the discourse is of

an unearthly cast and temper. The speech is ghostlike, and blends with ghost conceptions. Everything leads to breathless expectation. Happily has Mr. Hudson said that "when the vision is gone the intense excitement of the spectators subsides into a fine rapture of poetical inspiration; the spell thus left upon them gently preparing us for the deep entrancement that is to be wrought in the hero."

Having thus seen what was the nature of Hamlet, what the education and its effects were, what his environments were, and what the revelations made to him, we pass to notice that transformation of Hamlet to which these things lead and the results of that transformation. To Hamlet there has been made a great and awful disclosure. His worst suspicions and surmisings have been confirmed. He is in a world where most is false, dishonest, and foul—a world of the utmost moral disorder. Not only so, he is commissioned to restore order, to make wrong right; the revelation of an overwhelming duty has been added to an overwhelming disclosure and calamity. The field of thought and philosophical study must yield now to the sphere of practical activity. The transition is unexpected, sudden, sharply defined, and complete. Will the speculative, contemplative, theoretical mind be equal to the emergencies of practical executive work? What shall be the effect upon a fine, generous, and just nature of human vileness suddenly unveiled and a corresponding human responsibility suddenly revealed? This brings us to study the subsequent mental condition and executive abilities of our hero. First, then, follow a morbid humor and gloomy depression. Keep in mind what Hamlet was by nature and education—a delicate soul; an impassioned, imaginative nature; a confiding and generous spirit, full of ethereal breathings, occupied in noble thoughts, and apt in bodily and intellectual exercises; not viewing from the throne to which he was born aught but the beauty, happiness, and grandeur of human nature and of humanity. But his spirit is now deeply wounded, his soul somewhat poisoned by the appalling disclosures made to him. Even before he sees his father's ghost his mind is morbidly occupied with but one set of reflections. The indecorous marriage of his uncle with

his mother absorbs all his thoughts; sorrow contracts around his soul and shuts it out from cheerful light and wholesome air. He loses his mirth and becomes weary of the world and of life, as his first soliloquy shows. The shams made to deceive so honest a nature but deepen his grief and depression. After he has seen and heard the apparition and received his commission there follow more violent contortions of feeling, and his sensitive nature is well-nigh the victim of disgust and despair. The extent of this transformation may be clearly seen from the manner in which he now looks at the world, and also from his own utterances. As Taine has said, he tinges all nature with the color of his own thoughts, and shapes the world according to his ideas. His soul is now sick, and sees but little in the universe except what sickens. His utterance in the churchyard, as he repeats the gravediggers' jests, and those made over the grave of Ophelia further illustrate this morbid, melancholy spirit.

But we must notice more especially his intellectual activity, his excitability, and, if you please, his productiveness. Let us not suppose that any degree of mental deficiency should result from his melancholy broodings. The concentration of his thoughts on one line of action and the consequent sense of moral obligation entirely protect him. The most discriminating and exacting criticism has always credited Hamlet with superior intellectuality. If there is any disproportion in him it is because of an excess of intellect. In his first soliloquy there is something almost infinite in his emotions and thoughts. His thoughts travel beyond the known and confront the unknowable. Then the depths of his nature are first manifest, and thereafter he floods every scene with intellectual wealth. He pours forth large stores of wit, poetry, philosophy, moral and practical wisdom. He does all this, too, without effort, does it with all the ease and fluency of a native impulse. His ideas roll out upon us like waves driven before the wind. The redundancy of his thought is replenished from its own original springs and overflows without exertion. The activity of his mind is stimulated by the strain to which it is subjected. The problem of embarrassments which he tries to solve, the perplexities that entangle his pathway, the work that is given him to do, all

seem to account to a greater or less extent for those deep belongings of men and things, that wonderful fullness and celerity of thought, those dartings of intellect, those electric sparks which characterize his utterances. They illustrate the greater achievements and practical value that may arise from a conflict with the world. Had Hamlet remained in philosophical Wittenberg, or had his environments been those of his choosing, the world would have known nothing of the possibilities of his mind. The disclosures made to him were productive of the highest excitability. Indeed, there was a perilous tension of his whole nervous system. To receive the revelations of the ghost, to conceal them from those about him, to satisfy himself of their reality, and to indulge the purpose of executing the commission make his teeth chatter, his knees knock together, excite his thoughts, and heat his imagination until his will-power seems unequal to the emergency and he is well-nigh beyond self-mastery. As examples of perilous mental excitement observe his language succeeding the revelations of the ghost and his conduct when the piece is played to unmask his uncle.

We cannot further explain Hamlet's conduct than to answer one question, that vexed question of all periods of criticism, "Was his madness real or feigned?" We answer, "Feigned." It is true his whole being is shocked; there is disorder in his soul, a disturbance in his mind; there is a shaking of his powers; there is an ebb and flow of his feelings not subjected to calculable impulses, but he is not mad. Ophelia and Lear are mad, not Hamlet. He assumes an antic disposition for self-protection. He is aware of his violent inward commotion, and must seek some disguise which shall both conceal his distemper and yet give egress to his crowding thoughts and emotions, and at the same time, while he is inaccessible to others, make him the unobserved observer of their conduct. We are aware that this is an expression of dissent from some recent criticism and many recent utterances of medical science. But the theory of real madness would destroy that intellectual sovereignty in Hamlet which for the most part has always constituted his exaltation. Shakespeare never could have meant that we are to bow to a mind which we must pity, and it is not consistent to suppose that he would subject his leading ideal

character to such a "mournful mortal infirmity." Neither could he have supposed that Hamlet for a moment should cease to be a free moral agent. Look upon him on all great occasions, witness his conduct in his mother's closet, and listen to his dying words, and then ask if there was any disease or madness in his soul.

We must now approach one more disputed question, the effect of Hamlet's disposition and experience upon his executive powers. The more prevailing theory has been that his active powers are paralyzed by an excess of intellect, that he is made for meditation, not for action. Goethe tells us that his soul is unequal to the great deed assigned him. "Here," says he, "is an oak tree planted in an earthen vase which should have received into its bosom only lovely flowers; the roots spread out, the vase is shattered to pieces." Schlegel tells us that the whole play is intended to show that a calculating consideration cripples the powers of acting, and that here is manifest the hero's weakness. Coleridge thinks that to Hamlet is given such an overbalance of the contemplative faculty as to destroy natural powers of action, and that in his mind there is no equilibrium between the objects of sense and the world of imagination. The favorite doctrine has been that the thinking part predominated over the acting, that he was great in speculation but weak in performance. We are told that as Romeo's resolutions melt away into emotions so Hamlet's melt away into ideas. These criticisms have left a popular impression that Hamlet's character was one of effeminate softness and amiable weakness. Any dissent from these great critics may seem presumptuous, but since they are not in entire harmony among themselves and are at variance with others, and the character of Hamlet is beyond full comprehension, we may modestly state dissenting convictions. The predominance of intellectuality is unquestioned, but we feel that full justice has not been done to the heroism, will-power, and executive ability of our hero, and that he is much nearer a symmetrical man than the popular criticism would have us believe. For this conclusion the following reasons are suggested: (1) It is not consistent to suppose that Shakespeare would develop an ideal character so unsymmetrically as to personify weakness

and inefficiency. (2) His strength and heroism are too manifest to be overlooked. Surely timidity of mind, the fragility of a china vase, lack of power and energy are not his characteristics. Hamlet is fearless, almost above the strength of humanity. "He does not set his life at a pin's fee." "He converses unshaken with what the stoutest warriors have trembled to think upon." He jests with a visitant from the spirit world, and gathers unwonted vigor from the pangs of death. (3) His will-power is manifest in his converse with the ghost and in forming a purpose and adhering to it to the end. There were delays, it is true, but the most formidable motives account for them. In spite of all the outward and inward discouragements to which he was subjected he never forgot that duty. (4) His capability for vigorous action should not be questioned. He promptly meets and addresses the ghost; he breaks away from his friends when it beckons him; he triumphantly executes the scene of making the king's "occulted guilt unkennel itself;" he is the first to board the pirate; he stabs Polonius through the arras; he suddenly alters the sealed commission and sends his schoolfellows to the headsman. He acts with great energy, decision, directness, skill, and felicity of event. Nothing undertaken against Hamlet succeeds save murder, and that may succeed against any man; and whatever he undertakes succeeds save the ghost's commission.

But why does it not succeed? Why is this delay? Let us examine the perplexities of Hamlet, and perhaps we shall see the source of his irresolution. There are two motives to incite action, justice due a murderous and incestuous king and filial reverence. There are many more motives to restrain his hand. The work is of great magnitude; the manner of its performance is not predescribed; it is made known through irregular means; there is a preternatural contraction involved in the duty itself. Mr. Hudson has most forcibly expressed this perplexity:

Hamlet naturally supposes the work to be payment in kind—an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. But from Hamlet's view is this right? It is nothing less than to kill at once his uncle, his mother's husband and his king, and this not in a judicial way but by assassination. How is he to justify himself, how vindicate himself from the very crime he is

to punish? Upon what evidence is he to establish the righteousness of the deed? He cannot subpoena the ghost to satisfy others; its testimony is available only in the court of his own conscience. To serve any good end the deed must stand in the public eye as it does in his own, else in effect he will be setting an example of murder, not justice, and the crown will seem to be his real motive and duty a pretense.

Hamlet comes into a contention with the great powers of the world, yet he must preserve himself in them and use them to the destruction of another. To the high intellectual and moral nature there is something of repugnance in the use of such powers. Added to this there is some skepticism as to the evidence upon which he must act. The ghost may be a counterfeit, a diabolical illusion walking about in the likeness of his father, "making night hideous," to scare or tempt the living.

The spirit that I have seen
May be a devil; and the devil hath power
To assume a pleasing shape.

There has been much curious criticism upon the skepticism of Hamlet after becoming so completely absorbed in the revelations of the ghost, and these revelations were confirmed by catching the conscience of the king; but when we recall their preternatural contradiction, the popular belief in evil spirits, and the canceling force of Hamlet's inward misery there is nothing unnatural in it. While mere brute force or mere physical heroism would not pause before such exigencies, moral heroism and spiritual insight will pause, and the pause or irresolution of Hamlet is proof of his superior nature. He has that moral courage that recognizes and weighs moral motives.

In interpreting Hamlet's action or lack of it we must keep in mind his "large discourse, looking before and after;" we must have regard to his moral or religious convictions and insight. To determine what they were, the theology of the whole play, and especially that of the hero, must be studied, but cannot be within the limits of this article.

W. F. Whitlock

ART. IV.—THE EVOLUTION OF THE CIVIC IDEA.

THE civic idea is rapidly diffusing itself under our very eyes. The accumulating tendency which exists in man to become both orderly and free is being displayed to the modern world, while historians stand by to make a record of what has been done. The forms of the city or State which from the beginning have been elements of the human animal are so rapidly being worked out that it seems as if the destiny of the race were hastening to complete itself within a single hundred years. The civic movement is an original dynamic, and some consideration of its history now may be pertinent to the time spirit.

In his march from a savage state to civilized life man first appears as a hunter, secondly as a shepherd, and thirdly as a farmer. During all these stages he is profoundly religious. A religious plasma, as it were, envelops him. Whether as a Jew or Mohammedan he believes in but one God; whether as a Greek or Roman he believes in many gods it matters not. What concerns us is the fact that in all cases man is crushed and weighted to the ground with the burden of all-pervading Deity. From the innermost recesses of this religious protoplasm issues forth the tendency we have noted, namely, the overpowering desire to build about himself the city or the State or some form thereof. Of all the potencies in man's nature which religion causes to burst forth this is the most powerful and aggressive. He can no more resist it than the duck can resist the impulse to swim or the bird the proclivity to fly. Hence appears the justification of the profound observation made by Aristotle, "Man is by nature a political animal."

The political instinct appears much stronger in some races than in others. All share it, but in some, or at least in one, it outruns every other tendency. The evolution of the civic idea will therefore be most fortunately observed among such people as have in their progress shown the highest political capacity. In the history of the world the Aryan or Indo-Germanic race—the race of the Greeks, the Romans, the

Germans, and the English—occupies this position. We first see this race some two thousand years before Christ as a united community in the western part of Asia. It is profoundly religious. Its members passed their lives half demented with terror, for every appearance of force in nature was to them a manifestation of Deity. Thunder was the voice of God. When the sun shone God smiled. When it hailed he was angry. The anger of Deity must be appeased, otherwise man will perish. If a cancer appears in the body it means that a god is eating the flesh; therefore offer this god fresh meat of a better kind. Hence, sacrifices. Thus we have a glimpse of our Aryan forefathers in their primitive home. Increase of population drove them out of Asia in quest of new abodes. The first body which broke off passed between the Caspian Sea and the Black. It settled portions of western Europe and the British Isles. The world knows them as Celts. Later on there broke forth the Teutons, and still later the ancestors of the Hindu nation. From the Aryans who remained at home were built up the Medes and Persians. Thus from India to the west of Europe this race spread itself, and hence the name, "Indo-European."

The most conspicuous unfolding of political life in the Aryan race begins with the Greeks. It is followed later by a similar unfolding among the Romans. From the most perfect specimens of any age or epoch we learn the nature common to all. Therefore the evolution of the civic idea properly begins with the Greeks and Romans. Among them the self-consciousness of man in politics constitutes the most significant beginnings of political life. Let us then begin with the beginning from which the political idea emerges. Let us examine the Greek and Roman religions. Never did the Aryan race believe that death ended all. From the outset there has been a firm confidence that a second existence began the instant the first was ended. But this belief took no forms of foreign bodies or worlds. Reincarnation was undreamed of. So were heaven and hell. Theosophy was not yet born. Rewards and punishments did not require additional planets for their operation. They are all modern notions. These ancients believed that the soul remained with

the body, went into the ground with it, and continued to live under ground. "*Sub terra censebant reliquam vitam agi mortuorum.*" The authorities upon this point are overwhelming and conclusive: Vergil, Ovid, the two Plinys, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Cicero, Plutarch, Varro, Tacitus, Juvenal, Homer, Demosthenes, Hesiod, Sophocles—in fine, the body of classical literature is an attestation of this fact. In Vergil's magnificent poem we behold the funeral of Polydorus ending with these words, "We inclose the soul in the grave." It was the universal belief that the man actually lived there, and the expression *hic jacet*, "here lies," still survives as a monument of the fact. The primal object of burial was to give a place of abode to the soul. Unless the body was buried or entombed the soul had no dwelling place. It became a wandering ghost malevolent and unhappy. Flitting about the homes of the living, it would curse the lives and blight the harvests of those whose duty it was to have performed the burial rites and made the periodical offerings. Furthermore, the dead were held to be gods. Cicero in his second book on "The Laws," declares, "Our ancestors desired that the men who had quitted this life should be counted in the number of the gods;" and in his time the people were ordered by the law to sacrifice for the ghosts of the dead in the month of February. Our belief in ghosts is merely what is left of the ancient manes, or ghost faith. Believing the dead to be gods—good, if cared for, evil, if neglected—caused a complete religion of the dead to become established; and the civic forms which grew out of it endured until the revolution made by Christianity.

The first of these forms is the family, over which the power of the deified dead man extended. It alone had the right to worship him and thereby secure his protection of the family property. Hence the old law, "The inheritance follows the worship." From this came the conclusions that the inheritance could never pass into the hands of those who could not worship; that is, it could never go out of the family. Here then we plant our feet upon bedrock, the civic unit of ancient society, the first political form in which the human animal appears. Just as the individual is the unit of modern society,

so was the family the unit of the ancient. Society was not in primitive times a collection of individuals, but society was a union of family groups, an aggregation of families.

Our study up to this point has reached this result, we have found the civic unit of the primitive world. Our work for a time becomes comparatively easy. The unit having been discovered we may readily follow its combinations. It is almost a process of political geometry. Little by little the conception of deity becomes enlarged, and with the enlargement there comes a corresponding expansion of the objects with which divine benevolence is concerned. Although it is impossible for any one god to protect more than one family, in severalty, nevertheless, a number of families may unite and form a new group, and over this new group a new divinity may extend his special protection. It is the new group taken as a whole, not the families as such within it, which the new god protects. This civic form the Greeks called a *phratry*, the Latins a *curia*. Each phratry and cury had a common meal, a common sacrifice, a common worship, and a common government. Later on in the same way phratries and curies united, and the next civic form, the tribe, came into being. And every tribe had a common meal, a common sacrifice, a common worship, and a common government.

There is no limit to the expansion of the human mind. The tribe stands in the evolutionary process near the point of beginning. That man, outside of the tribe, should have no rights protected by deity seemed an anomaly to the expanding intellect. That there should be no deity who cared for more than one tribe seemed to be equally an anomaly. In other words, we see all along the line that man was creating his own gods, and as the beliefs of men enlarged just so much were increased the jurisdictions of the various deities. The gods were the embodied beliefs of men, only men did not know it. The same expanding belief that first called for a union of families, secondly of phratries and curies, in process of time calls for a union of tribes. Men now conceive of a god whose providence embraces several tribes at once, and a new organization is formed; the city comes into being. Nowadays a city is the result of growth—a few houses, a hamlet, a village, at last a

city. The ancients, however, founded a city all complete at once. Whenever the civic forms already mentioned consented to unite and set up a common worship the city charter was framed; when the common sanctuary was erected the city was constituted. It was a confederation of groups, and not a union of individuals. Every city was independent of every other. Between two cities nothing common could exist. Marriage was hardly possible, and children born of such a marriage were generally deemed bastards. No man was a Greek or Italian, but an Athenian, Spartan, or Roman. Families united in phratries or curies; these, in turn, united into tribes, and tribes again into cities. But cities never united into States or nations. Why was this? Could not the human mind in its god-making capacity conceive of a deity benevolent enough to protect two or more cities at once? Undoubtedly it could. Any kind of god could be made to order. We have already seen proof enough of this. The difficulty lay in the physical impossibility of city unison. Could all the Athenians and all the Spartans worship around one central fire, eat from a common table? Could sacred bounds be annually perambulated and lustrated, and yet include all the territory of Athens and Sparta? Plainly they could not. Yet, if the cities of Greece were to unite in a single State all this sort of thing would have to be done. To form a new group under the ancient law required in every case a new worship about which all the members of the group to be formed could periodically adore; a new eating table at which periodically all the members might partake of a common meal; and a new series of sacred bounds inclosing all the land belonging to the new group and within which bounds all the members of the group must be located. This, of course, was absolutely impossible. Therefore cities were the limits of group expansion. For cities to unite was never thought of. For them to have done so would have been to break up the whole order of ancient society.

For these reasons the civic idea comes to a halt in the course of its development. Apparently the final form of society has been reached. The human animal seems to be crystallized. Centuries passed after Rome was founded; yet neither Greeks nor Romans dreamed of uniting several cities. A few tempo-

rary alliances took place, but never a union. Religion forced every city to be such a body that it could never be joined to another. Isolation was the law of the city. It is no wonder then that the ancients considered patriotism to be the supreme virtue. Outside of the city, beyond the sacred walls, man was without a god and shut away from all moral life. The ancient citizen loved his city as he loved his religion. He knew how to die for it, for to his country he owed his life. For his altars and his fires, *pro aris et focis*, he fought literally, knowing that if the enemy took his city his gods were destroyed and all for him was lost. Hence the greatest punishment for crime was exile. Exile placed man beyond the reach of religion. "Let him flee," were the expatriating words, "nor ever approach the temples. Let no citizen speak to or receive him; let no one admit him to the prayers or to the sacrifices; let no one offer the lustral water." The exile was thus cut off from his religion and his god. It is not surprising then that almost all the ancient cities permitted a convict to escape death by flight. Exile did not seem to be a milder punishment than death. The Roman jurists called it capital punishment. The exile could not flee into another city, for the gods of every one but his own were hostile to him. The worship of one city was forbidden to men of a neighboring city. A profound gulf separated them. Each was independent by the requirements of its own religion. Each had its own law code, since each had its own religion and the law flowed from the religion. Each had its own money, its own festivals and calendar. The months and years even were different. Each had its own weights and measures.

The founding of a city was always a holy act flowing from the religion thereof. Religion compelled every citizen to regard the founder as a god. His act was held to be divine, and he was for a city what the first ancestor was for a family. He located the place where the city's sacred fire should forever burn. The citizens worshiped him after his death, and every year performed sacrifices over his tomb. We know that Romulus, the founder of Rome, Hiero, of Syracuse, Naleus, of Miletus, Miltiades, of Chersonesus, and hundreds of others were worshiped as founders of their respective cities. Æneas,

the holy man, the founder of Lavinium, whence came the Alban fathers and the walls of lofty Rome, is the keynote to the great poem of Vergil. He kept alive the sacred fire, and carried the worship of Troy through Thrace, Crete, Sicily, and Carthage, until the fates permitted him to set it up in Italy. "*Tantæ molis erat, Romanam condere gentem.*" The late Professor E. A. Freeman speaks most acutely concerning this final civic form of ancient life :

At a few miles from the gates of one independent city we may find another, speaking the same tongue, but living under different municipal laws, different political constitutions, with a different coinage, different weights and measures, different names for the very months of the year, levying duties at its frontiers, making war, making peace, sending forth its ambassadors, and investing the bands which wage its border warfare with all the rights of the armies and the commanders of belligerent empires. . . . In such a system it is clear first of all that the individual citizen is educated, worked up, improved to the highest possible pitch. Every citizen is himself statesman, judge, and warrior.

In Greece, between 500 B. C. and the time of Alexander's death—the period when the splendor of civic life was at its height, and during the space of two centuries—twenty-eight of the most illustrious men the world has seen appear before our view. Of orators there were Æschines and Demosthenes; of historians there were Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon; of poets, Anacreon, Æschylus, Pindar, Euripides, Sophocles, and Aristophanes; of philosophers and scientists there were Pythagoras, Socrates, Hippocrates, Euclid, Plato, and Aristotle; of architects, sculptors, and artists there were Apelles, Phidias, and Praxiteles; of statesmen and commanders there were Miltiades, Leonidas, Themistocles, Aristides, Cimon, Epaminondas, Phocian, Pericles. Referring again to Freeman :

Many a man who has a high natural capacity for statesmanship is, in a large State, necessarily confined to the narrow range of private or local affairs. Such a man may, under a system of small commonwealths, take his place in the sovereign assembly of his own city and at once stand forth among the leaders of men. In a word, it can hardly be doubted that the system of small commonwealths raises the individual citizen to a pitch utterly unknown elsewhere. The average citizen is placed on a far higher level, and the citizen who is above the average has far more

favorable opportunities for the display of his powers. This elevation of the character of the individual citizen is the main advantage of the system of small States. It is their one great gain, and it is an unmixed gain. Nothing can be so glorious as the life of one of these cities while it does live. The one century of Athenian greatness, from the expulsion of the tyrants to the defeat of *Ægos Potamos* is worth millenniums of the life of Egypt or Assyria.

We have stood on the highest mountain peak of civic life in the ancient world. Let us now move forward in time a few centuries to the so-called great revolution made by Christianity. It has been commonly asserted that Christianity came and with a mighty blow overthrew the religious foundations of ancient society. It did nothing of the kind. Christianity was merely the final blow of a series, or one may call it the end of a series, of revolutions. Christ came, not to destroy, but to fulfill. Just as in the launching of a ship, where everything is ready, the final blow sends the vessel leaping into the ocean's arms, so did Christianity cause pagan society to fall with a crash. But the way had been made ready before. The ancient city was held together by faith in the city religion. As fast as this faith weakened just so far did the city become unstable. Christianity did not appear until the city had been overturned by a number of revolutions. These revolutions may now pass before us, as it were, in a succession of dissolving views. Political authority is first taken from the kings. At Sparta, Athens, Rome—in short, in all the ancient cities—a similar procedure takes place. Rome is a typical instance. Romulus, the first king of Rome, is assassinated in the senate house, while Numa, the second king, dies in his bed. Tullus Hostilius, the third king, is destroyed by a thunderbolt, while Ancus Martius, the fourth king, dies in his bed. Tarquin, the fifth king, is assassinated. Servius, the sixth king, is murdered, while the second Tarquin, the seventh Roman king, is dethroned, and royalty abolished. In short, the history of the seven kings of Rome simply tells this story: Religion said, "The king must unite in himself both Church and State;" the expanding civic idea said, "No! The Church is one thing, the State is another." We can almost hear Christ's after command, "Render unto Cæsar." Certain

kings attempted to draw the distinction and make the severance. At once religion murdered them. But the revolution succeeded. The free intellect won, and the first blow is struck. Next comes the dismemberment of the ancient family. The right of primogeniture disappears, and the ecclesiastical nature of the family is destroyed. Next the clients become free. In this work Solon was the great pioneer. He himself says :

It was an unhoped-for work. I have accomplished it with the aid of the gods. I call to witness the goddess mother, the black earth, whose landmarks I have in many places torn up, the earth which was enslaved and is now free. Those who in this land suffered cruel servitude and trembled before a master I have made free.

Now comes the revolt of the plebs, and we see the plebeians, the common people, enter the sacred city. The very idea seemed monstrous. In Rome, Livy says, "the heavens were on fire, specters leaped in the air, and showers of blood fell." The real prodigy was that the common people were actually making the laws. Lastly, the aristocrats are thrown down and democratic government is set up. The gods no longer control the election of officers. The auspices are consulted only on the condition that they will be impartial toward all the candidates. Thus it has come to pass that the constitution of the sacred city has become subverted, and the city itself exists only in name. We can now understand the meaning of that wonderful expression, "the fullness of time." Christianity appears and deals the final blow. During all these centuries the way has been preparing.

Can we not now comprehend precisely what has happened up to this point ? Early society was first set up on a religious dogma that every god protected one family only. Then came a series of expanding groups, ending with the city, and each city had its own protecting divinity. In every city law, religion, and government were three sides of one thing. To the city every man was bound soul and body ; outside of the city no civic or religious life was possible, and exile was worse than death. Then came the revolutions caused by the inevitable expansion of humanity. Blow after blow is dealt to the city founded on the ancient religion. The city falls, and Christ

appears just when the fields are white for the harvest. A god is now proclaimed who has no chosen people and who regards neither cities nor families. The starving multitudes, to whom it seemed that deity had spurned them forever, now find a common Father. Paul says to them: "We all [are] baptized into one body." "There is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Seythian, bond nor free: but Christ is all, and in all." This shows to every man the unity of the human race within the fold of God, and it follows as a matter of logic that men cannot remain within that fold and continue to hate each other.

Thus we have gradually climbed to the top of the great divide which separates ancient from modern society. We are now ready to go down on the other side. What logic tells us must happen does happen. The principle which hitherto has kept societies separated from one another is destroyed. In its place has come a new tie, which tends to bind all men together. We may therefore expect to see the civilized world which is bound by this tie at once begin to cohere into one great whole. This is what does take place. The Christian community which Christ founded in Asia Minor gradually transforms itself into an immense ecclesiastical organization claiming the right to govern temporal affairs and to a certain extent seeking to reunite law and religion, thereby ignoring the distinction which Christ commanded to be made. It is known in history as the Holy Roman Empire. The traditions of the departed empire, that of the Cæsars and the Antonines, had exercised a stupendous potency upon the minds of men. The idea that in Rome was vested the right to rule mankind forever remained in full force after Rome's self-abnegation was complete. The idea of Roman monarchy became more universal. The local center was gone; the idea was no longer connected with the city, but it continued over as part of the existing order. The barbarians themselves did not wish to destroy the power of the Roman name. Bryce says that "the thought of antagonism to the empire and the wish to extinguish it never crossed their minds. The conception of that empire was too universal, too august, too enduring." They believed that, as the dominion of Rome was universal, so must it be eternal. For fourteen

generations Rome had embraced the most wealthy and populous regions of the civilized world. The belief in her eternity had been the unquestioning faith of her people, and was voiced by her scholars, her orators, and her poets.

His ego nec metas rerum
Nec tempora pono:
Imperium sine fine dedi.

It was a matter of common faith and acceptance that when Rome should come to an end the earth itself would perish. Hence, neither Roman, Frank, Lombard, nor German believed in the dissolution of the empire, although they saw its corpse before their eyes. The capture of Rome only brought into being a new maxim, "*ὅπου ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς ᾗ, ἐκεῖ ἡ Πάμη.*"

But Rome had left two Elishas behind her, her Church and her law. As the old empire fell to pieces the belief in its eternal dominion, which conquerors and conquered shared equally, seized upon these witnesses. These alone were left, and to them faith was extended. The Roman law was made the tribunal of last resort. All men were judged by it who could not be proved subject to some other. Side by side stood the Church and the law. It was the Church that became the foundation of the new order. The idea that Rome's domination must last forever was the accepted creed of all men. But it must needs be that this idea should locate in something, should settle upon some institution. Thus it happened that the Christian Church became the object of settlement; the famous forgery of the "Donation of Constantine" was produced, and the Holy Roman Empire began its marvelous career. On Christmas Day, A. D. 800, in the city of Rome the pope placed on the brow of Charlemagne the imperial crown of the Cæsars, and then knelt before the Teutonic chief. Thus was the Western Empire restored to again reign over Christendom, sharing its sovereignty conjointly with the papacy until far down into the Middle Ages. A world monarchy and a world religion are the ideals sought to be attained. Rome had left behind her her Church and her law. Out of these, by means of the most majestic legal fiction recorded in human annals, a vast Christian monarchy is set up whose sway is absolutely universal. This comprehensive

society has two chiefs, each ruling, by divine right, as direct vicegerent of God—the Roman pontiff and the Roman emperor—the one administering law to its spiritual character as a Church, the other to its temporal character as an empire. Each chief by hypothesis is supreme in his own sphere of action. “Under the emblem of soul and body,” says Bryce, “the relation of the papal and imperial power is presented to us throughout the Middle Ages. The pope, as God’s vicar in matters spiritual, is to lead men to eternal life. The emperor, as vicar in matters temporal, is to control them in their dealings with one another.” Both the Church and empire are two sides of one and the same thing. The famous forgery to which we have alluded was to the effect that Constantine, when he forsook Rome for Byzantium, bestowed upon the pope the sovereignty of the Western Empire. For some centuries this falsehood received the credence of mankind. So that the pope when he made Charlemagne emperor was merely perpetuating the authority of old Rome, already admitted by men to be eternal. And, inasmuch as the pope was securely seated in the chair of St. Peter, this additional authority from Constantine gave him a double right to connect the emperor’s title deeds with the Almighty’s throne. Henceforth the ultimate sanction of law, the final tribunal of disputes, is to be sought in one or other of these two chiefs. If the question is temporal the emperor, whose power excels in dignity all the kings of the earth, makes final decision. If the question be spiritual the pontiff is the arbiter of last resort. Frederick I writes to the prelates of Germany, “On earth God has placed no more than two powers, and as there is in heaven but one God, so is there but one pope and one emperor. We have now reached modern times. The Church and State are separated, probably forever. Religion no longer through force of law seeks to dominate temporal and secular affairs. The civic idea for the first time in human history is free from religious control. What is to be its future development ?

Up to this point we have strictly followed the facts of history. If these facts indicate any inferences fairly to be drawn therefrom it is now time to see what they are. First, let us remember that, although the Church has lost her legal control of

human government, she has in nowise lost her power of ethical direction. The obedience which formerly was compulsory is now freely rendered. It needs no argument to show that voluntary submission is far more effectual than any obtained by force. And we know that at no time in the world's history has the Church been stronger than she is to-day. What, then, is to be the outcome? When may we expect to see the groups which now constitute civilized society form themselves into one group which shall embrace them all? When shall we behold the world-State, having for a spiritual center the universal Church—an organization in which civilization is the sphere of activity, freedom and order the objects of attainment, while the Church of Christ posits the spiritual initiative? This may appear to be a dream of the unattainable, but let us not fear to behold the direction in which we are moving. Mankind has become aware that there is such a thing as the universal conscience. The substantial abolition of the slave trade is a direct proof in point, if proof be needed. When this universal conscience shall take on an external form—and the time must arrive when it will—we have nothing less than the universal Church. The abhorrence in which the oppressors of Armenia, Cuba, and other States are held by general humanity shows an ethical sentiment possessing only cosmic limitations. If this world-Church demands a world-State in which to act are the signs in that direction also less indicative? During the nineteenth century the civic idea has developed with tremendous rapidity. All over the globe States and nations are becoming free, independent, and self-conscious. Nearer and nearer are the nations coming to one another. More and more is arbitration settling the disputes which heretofore have been settled by war. More and more is it being felt that only a common organization of the world will suffice as an adequate remedy for many existing evils.

If there be a unity of the human race—and for nearly nineteen hundred years the Christian world has published the declaration that there is such a unity—then this unity must manifest itself outwardly, must take on an external form. This form is required both by logic and psychology. Throughout the range of human effort unity of object and of ideal

sooner or later insist on a common organization or a unity of external form.

Must not the world organize itself into a universal State? Particular nations would still retain their autonomy as now, but matters of universal concern can only be completely handled by a universal government. The duty of such a State would be to maintain the peace of the world, to protect the commerce of the world, and to execute the judgments of international law tribunals. There would thereafter be no more Bulgarian outrages or Armenian atrocities, because the first formal complaint of trouble would bring the matter in dispute before an international court of law, and the armies and navies of the world would stand ready to execute the decrees of the court. The civic idea having taken on the form of one grand civic State, matters of civic importance to one part would become of importance to all parts. Art, literature, and science would find expression for the various forms of common humanity.

The rapidity and instantaneousness of communication brought to pass by steam and electricity have located all civilization within the metes and bounds of a neighborhood. Unconquerable time is moving on, and ultimately will place over this neighborhood a common government.

Geo. Howard Trall.

ART. V.—THE ATONEMENT AS A FACTOR IN
DIVINE GOVERNMENT.

THE mission of Christ to this earth it is impossible to define. We cannot affix limits to the divine purpose, measuring the exact scope of the lifework of Jesus of Nazareth, determining positively and negatively the results of his death. We sum it all up in the two words "redemption" and "salvation;" but to what extent human destiny is thus controlled is a problem whose solution baffles our powers. Had man remained sinless would we have known God in his triune nature? Would he have been as fully revealed to us as he has come to be in the incarnation of Christ and the dispensation of the Spirit? There are many questions that arise which we cannot answer, but enough is revealed for our guidance in the path of life.

The Bible treats of the coming of Christ to this world wholly in connection with the fall of man, his loyalty to the divine government, and death under the law. Paul in writing to the Romans states the mission of Christ in these words: "God commendeth his love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." To the Galatians he says, "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, . . . that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith." And to the Ephesians he affirms, "By grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God." But is the grace here spoken of God's act in the atonement? No; for the salvation is through faith, and the atonement was purely a divine act preceding our faith and in which we had no part. Did the death of Christ change our relations to the law? If so, in what respect? Did the Son of God die to render a satisfaction to the law? We answer this last question by saying that punishment never satisfies the law. Obedience, and obedience only, meets the end for which the law is prescribed. Penalty necessarily inheres in law, but of itself it does not fulfill the law, but is intended to operate as a restraint from acts the law forbids. The punishment of the criminal does not make the law whole; it does not wipe out the score, restoring the conditions existing previous to the

commission of the crime. The law is vindicated but not satisfied. Punishment meets a demand of the law violated, but not the purpose of the law in its establishment. If Christ had not come to this world, and all men had died because of disloyalty to the divine government, God would have been just, and the sacredness of the law would have been maintained, but the purpose for which the law was given would not have been realized. The law would have been a failure. The supreme Ruler under principles of equity could not do otherwise than inflict the penalty prescribed, but the penalty suffered is an eternal witness to sin—an object lesson to the whole universe that the law had failed to accomplish its purpose, that the end it sought to secure had not been reached.

If the punishment of the guilty does not secure the purpose of the law, but rather is inflicted because the purpose was disregarded, then certainly the death of Christ for man, "the just for the unjust," does not satisfy the law, does not restore that which was lost, does not make the broken whole. The law did call for the death of the sinner, and it calls for the death of the sinner to-day as loudly as before the cross was planted on Calvary. And if the atonement was God's last act in our behalf eternal death would be a certainty from which there could be no rescue.

If the foregoing principles are valid the death of Christ in itself was not substitutional. He did die that man might live, but he did not die in man's place. If he did die in man's place, then as a result man would be exempt from death, and universal salvation would be an accomplished fact. Can there be substitutional punishment, or, in other words, substitutional suffering of the innocent for the punishment of the guilty? If the purpose of the law is to secure the fulfillment of its requirements the penalty visited on an innocent party has no bearing on the disobedience of the guilty. After such suffering has been endured the law is not mended, nor is the guilt of transgression lessened. It is logically unthinkable that in the administration of law the innocent can take the place of the guilty in satisfying the demands of the law. If allowed, it is extrajudicial.

If the substitutional theory falls to the ground there goes

with it the collateral theory of equation of suffering, that the Son of man in his death endured in intensity and amount a degree of suffering equal to that from which the race was delivered by the sacrifice which he offered. Aside from the substitutional fallacy it would involve a definite amount of guilt on the part of the human race—in harmony with the doctrine of predestination, perhaps—and a fixed measure of penalty not subject to increase or decrease. Still further, this fails to take into the account the character of the offering made. But the whole theory is built upon a foundation which has no place in the divine government. Some of our hymnology teaches very faulty theology, as

Jesus paid it all,
All the debt I owe.

Our indebtedness is not canceled, our obligations are not lessened. The death of Christ did not wipe any stains from the soul, or obliterate guilt, or restore us to divine favor, or change our relation to the law that had been broken.

But we may ask, Did Jesus die for us? Yes. Would we have been saved had he not died? No. Could God have saved us without the death of Christ? No. Did the atonement save us? No. How then are we saved? Purely as an act of grace, through the sovereign mercy of God. Because of the atonement the supreme Being extends pardon to the sinner. Can this be safely done? We must not forget that the divine government must be a government in which there are no elements of weakness; nothing can be allowed which will detract from its strength. It is conceded that the most dangerous prerogative a sovereign can exercise is the pardoning power. Law would in the highest sense be a terror to evil-doers if every criminal should be arrested, convicted, and punished. The greatest weakness of human governments for practical restraint of evil grows out of the failure to bring the offender to justice. If all persons tempted to commit crime knew that there was no escape from righteous and adequate penalty for violation of the law of the State in the administration of justice crime would be reduced to a minimum. No sin, not even the slightest infraction of the divine law, can escape the eye of God; hence on the principle of equity he can

make his administration perfect. Justice cannot fail in his hands. When he says the sinner shall "surely die" it is the declaration of a truth that cannot be evaded. But this would be an administration of death, not working for obedience, but bringing in an eternal reign of suffering, as "all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God." Thus it is either death or pardon; there is no other alternative.

But a proclamation of pardon for all past and future sins to anyone who should ask for it, simply as an act of administrative prerogative, would not only weaken God's government, but completely overthrow it. Removing all restraints, law would be practically annulled and right would lose its binding force. If the sinner is to be pardoned it is necessary that the law shall not become any the less rigid or binding in its application to every human being; it must not have any less terror in it. The thunders of Sinai must not be silenced or muffled. Nothing that is necessary to good government must be surrendered. Not a compromise even, parting with the lesser in order to secure the greater good. God's plan for the government of the race proposed to save man while yet the law should remain intact, as binding as at the first on every life, and without the setting aside of any of its penalties or the lessening of its terrors to the transgressor. What was done? In the Bible record we find that in order to reach and save man God became incarnate, Christ was born into this world as the babe of Bethlehem; as God manifest in the flesh he put himself under the law, kept it in every iota, thus proclaiming its justice and infinite importance, submitting even to death upon the cross, inflicted by wicked men because of his loyalty to truth and right and his devotion to a perfect law-abiding humanity. In the condescension thus manifested by the Son of God in bringing his life down to the plane of our being, and making common cause with us in the experience and trials of this world, enduring its hardships, fighting its temptations, dropping into the lowliest estate a human being could occupy, not even having where to lay his head—in the carrying out of his merciful purpose to save us from death is there not an indorsement of the law that places its sanctity and worth beyond all possible cavil on the part of any intelligence

in this universe? And when we add to this indorsement the voluntary surrender of his life to establish conditions which would render salvation from death safe under the government he had established, can anyone entertain a doubt as to the estimate he places on the law which had been broken?

So marvelous are God's dealings with us in the atonement that we are told the angels desire to look into these things. And is not the atonement in the incarnation and death of Christ more than an indorsement of the law? Is it not a divine commentary on its office and eternal sanctity? Would our estimate of its exceeding value have been as vivid, our conceptions of its worth as full and impressive, had not the Son of man come to this world to introduce a new dispensation? We do not hesitate to assert that under the New Testament order legal restraints are certainly not less effective than under the Old Testament régime.

Now pardon is offered the sinner on certain conditions only, not simply for the asking of it even with intense desire; but when the soul realizes its guilt and pledges reformation, seeking a better life, then pardon is granted. It is death under the law on the one hand, or pardon with regeneration on the other. It is pardon with a new life, never pardon with the spirit in a state of enmity toward God. Thus the whole scheme is in the interest of reformation and obedience to the law. The problem is more than an administrative one—not less what is done in the sinner than what is done for him. Looking at the cross, he realizes something of the awful turpitude of sin, he abhors his past life because of its guilt; and more than escape from penalty does he desire escape from the corruption of his nature; and in crying for mercy it is a cry for deliverance from all that is corrupt and evil within him. Is not God ready under all circumstances to make a soul pure if purity is sought?

The atonement, therefore, in exalting the law and opening the eyes of men to see its reasonableness and sanctity, introduces into the divine government through the display of love in its most astonishing manifestation a force mightier than all other forces in winning the race to virtue and building up God's kingdom on the earth. There can be no government of

law so effective as the government of grace. Law dominates the will; the grace of God in Jesus Christ dominates the will and heart both, dominating the will not by external constraint, but through that central life of our being, the heart. As the government of a nation that has the hearts of the people is stronger than if upheld by bayonets, so God's kingdom now dwelling in human hearts is stronger than it could possibly be without Christ at the center of it all. The law is still our schoolmaster, but Christ is our Saviour. The end sought in atonement is at-one-ment, the nature of man brought into harmony with the divine Spirit.

The foregoing discussions can be summed up in the following questions and answers: Was Christ an atoning sacrifice? Yes; for without his incarnation and death there could have been no dispensation of grace. Did Christ become the propitiation for our sins? Yes; his death was the result of our sins, making it possible for God to be just and yet the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus. Was Jesus Christ the Redeemer of the world? Yes; his life was an offering through which alone pardon could safely be offered. In him is there reconciliation? Yes; reconciliation of man to God in spirit, in life. The purpose was that we should be new creatures, the divine image being restored to us.

L. R. Fiske

ART. VI.—SAVONAROLA AND ROME.

THE twenty-third of May, 1898, was the four hundredth anniversary of Savonarola's martyrdom. This is a remarkable event, not only in itself, on account of the greatness and excellence of the victim, but also because Jerome Savonarola is the last great personage before the Reformation who is held in high honor among both Protestants and Catholics. The commemoration of his martyrdom, therefore, rightly conducted and not turned into a weapon of mere sectarian boasting or attack, ought to be a means of bringing these two widely separated portions of Western Christendom into a better mutual understanding.

There have been within Western Christendom three classes of antagonists to Rome. First, those who, when she was the head of Christianity, opposed her because she did maintain historical Christianity. Foremost of these were the Albigenses. These, indeed, were not teachers of voluptuousness. They were exactly the opposite. As Dr. R. D. Hitchcock has remarked, they were Puritans whose Puritanism was so intense that it threw them into dualism. Matter, with the human appetites and passions connected with it, has rightly been recognized in all ages as something which, as St. Peter says, wars against the soul. Asceticism, therefore, in reasonable measure, has been recognized alike in Greek and Christian philosophy as helpful to the spiritual nature. Manichæism, however, in all its forms, of which it is idle to deny that Albigensianism is one, carries asceticism beyond all measure. It declares matter essentially and incurably evil. It denies that the visible world can have come from the good God. Any contact with matter is a sin. The instincts which continue the life of the individual are evil, and the instinct which continues the life of the race is supremely evil. They become venial only if expiated by the vicarious austerities of the Perfect. A temptation to fall from among the Perfect into the common herd may well be averted by suicide. The suppression of Albigensianism, notwithstanding all attendant atrocities—atrocities which to the rudeness of the Middle Ages were

comparatively a slight thing—was, as Paul Sabatier has well said, the salvation of rational human society.

The next class of antagonists to Rome is represented by Wyclif and Huss before the Reformation, and then by the Protestant reformers themselves. These adhere as firmly as Rome to historical Christianity, purging it of a measure of asceticism which appears to them in practice if not in theory to approach dangerously near to that very dualism which Rome crushed in the Albigenses, and vindicating for the natural relations of life a religious value which it appears to them that Rome fails to accord them in fact, even though she calls marriage a sacrament. Albigensianism, therefore, is a revolt alike against reason and historical Christianity, and against Rome as representing these. Protestantism, with its precursors in England and Bohemia, is a revolt against the theology, discipline, hierarchy, and ritual of the Latin races, and against Rome as representing these.

Savonarola's revolt is neither one nor the other. He holds fast to reason, to revelation, and to historical Christianity. He also holds fast, without the slightest aberration from them, to the theology, the discipline, the ritual, and the polity of the Latin Church, and to Rome as the keystone of the whole. He is an Italian, a Catholic, a monk, of monks a mendicant friar, of friars a Dominican. He belongs to the order of supreme orthodoxy and of the Inquisition. In his loyalty to St. Dominic and to Thomas Aquinas he never falters. He boasts that his order has never given birth to a heretic. He does, indeed, maintain that the pope is amenable to a general council, a view especially characterizing the century of Constance and Basel, and, as he holds it, hardly distinguishable from the view now propounded by the Jesuits themselves. He does not appear to hold that a pope, really such, can err in doctrine, and he does not accuse even Borgia of erring officially in doctrine, although he does not own Borgia for a true pope, and accuses him of being personally a mere atheist. Alexander, in turn, praises his doctrine and life, and only accuses him of pride and rebellion. The final sentence of heresy passed against him did not result from any evidence, and, when once it had accomplished its end of pushing him out of the world,

was no longer insisted upon by Alexander himself. It is true, as Villari remarks, that Savonarola is a man of extraordinary freshness and originality, not only of character, but of intellect. He is far from being a mere echo of St. Thomas, or of scholasticism. He looks forward even more than he looks back. He is a deep philosophical, as well as theological, thinker. He anticipates Locke in maintaining that all knowledge comes from experience. He anticipates Kant in maintaining that to give experience value it must be brought into shape by preexistent categories of reason. He rises above Kant in evidently holding that both experience and reason, fused in a divinely preestablished harmony, give us reality as it is.

The Savonarolas had become eminent as physicians and physicists, and Jerome had expected to follow the hereditary path. It was only the unspeakable corruptions of the times that drove him into the cloister, although, once there, his heart rested thenceforth without wavering in his vocation. He did not become a monk in the elder and stricter sense, a recluse. He became a friar, that is, a member of one of the four great orders instituted for the special benefit of society and of the Church. He loved the poor like St. Francis, while in his fulminations from the pulpit he embodied above Dominic himself the inmost genius of the order of preachers. Yet, although thus diverted from continuing the family traditions of physical research, Villari describes him as always exhibiting a keen sympathy with the physical sciences. He views him on this side as a harbinger of Campanella, of Giordano Bruno, and of Galileo. Savonarola, however, did not look forward to any disclosures of truth that should discredit truth already found. There was nothing in this deep and solid Christian thinker that would have led him to cast in his lot with those men and women, swarming through Christendom, who, in the words of an honored teacher, would fain view the light of the sun with revolutionary eyes and receive the harmonies of music with revolutionary ears and inhale the fragrance of the rose with revolutionary sensations. Not of these is Savonarola. He never wavers in his conviction that in Jesus Christ the divine sun of truth and goodness has risen upon the world—of

truth concerning God's being, creation, redemption, immortality. The indefinite progress to which he looks forward is progress in this truth, not away from it.

In theology does Savonarola, while using the forms and definitions then prevailing, anticipate any fundamental change? It does not appear that he does. The keen instinct of Rome, almost unerring in detecting even embryonic inclinations toward doctrinal innovation, has fully acquitted him of these. In other words, he is either free of all suggestions of doctrinal change or, which is probably nearer the truth, such changes as he does suggest are such as were accepted by the later Catholicism as a more perfect expression of its mind. The one assumption or the other would leave his doctrinal relation to Rome untouched. His frequent denunciation of superfluous ceremonies has in it nothing heterodox. He is hardly as severe against the darkening and bewildering effect of superfluous ceremonies as the preface which Rome herself gave to the reformed breviary and maintained there for a generation or more. Where ceremonies appear to Savonarola profitable to the spiritual life, there, says Villari, he goes even beyond the common standard in urging the use of them. He takes an active part in all the pious rites of Florence, including the processions in which the miraculous tutelary Madonna is borne through the streets. The sacraments—above all, confession and the eucharist—are to him precisely what they are to all other devout Catholics. He puts all these usages among "the good works" which he declares to be profitable in preparing for grace and to nourish and increase it when received.

Some of his declarations concerning the all-sufficiency of God and grace and the utter insufficiency of man, coming to Luther's knowledge, so struck him that he printed them, declaring Savonarola to have been a forerunner of the Reformation. He was this indeed, in the sense that he with pure and pious men and women throughout the Church, from Naples to Stockholm, was weighed down with a consciousness of the immeasurable corruption of the Roman see during the time of the Renaissance, and was persuaded that drastic measures alone would secure a renewal of the face of Christendom. No one expresses this consciousness more unreservedly before all the

world than good Pope Hadrian VI. The Teutonic races—even France being heavily Teutonic—were hostile to the Latin races politically, and were beginning to diverge religiously. They therefore became easily discouraged from the hope of reform, and broke away from Rome. Savonarola, on the other hand—the Italian, the Dominican—had no thought of this. The papacy was sacred to him, but that incarnation of all abominations, Roderick Borgia, was horrible, all the more horrible because of the holiness of his office. Savonarola's revolt was not against Rome or the papacy, but against the wickedest of all the popes. It was not, like the Reformation, a doctrinal, it was a purely moral revolt—the revolt of goodness against indescribable wickedness.

Luther, as Villari remarks, in pronouncing Girolamo an inchoate Protestant simply on the ground of the strong emphasis which he often lays on the emptiness of man and the all-sufficiency of God, overlooks the fact that this is a postulate of the universal Christian consciousness. The saints of God in all ages of the Church have in various measure been plunged into this consciousness. "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give glory," is the voice of all holy hearts. "What hast thou that thou hast not received?" Although Dean Farrar, in his superficial little book on the Fathers, sneers at "the helpless passivity" of those noblest of post-apostolic words, "O God, give what thou commandest, and command what thou wilt," *Da quod jubes, et jube quod vis*, it is the echo of such words which keeps the Church from spreading out into a thin and powerless Pelagianism. This sense of human nothingness and divine all-sufficiency, therefore, has nothing in it specifically Protestant. All great saints have had it, above all in the great junctures and crises of individual and general life. They say in Würtemberg, "Rome makes every man a Lutheran on his deathbed." It is not from a Protestant hand, but from the favorite poem of Catholic Spain, that the verses come:

O thou, that for our sins didst take
A human form, and humbly make
Thy home on earth;
Thou, that to thy divinity
A human nature didst ally
By mortal birth;

And in that form didst suffer here
Torment, and agony, and fear,
So patiently ;
By thy redeeming grace alone,
And not for merits of my own,
O, pardon me.

The specific peculiarity of the Reformation, as we know, was that it intensified this relative nothingness of the creature into a formal denial of human free will since the fall. This, as we know, was even more harshly held and expressed by Luther than by the later and more deliberate Calvin. Luther, who knew but fragments of Savonarola's writings, would, as Villari remarks, hardly have held the friar for a precursor of himself had he known how continually he emphasizes free will and the helpfulness of good works. And likewise while, like other Church teachers, he sometimes speaks of faith as justifying, he when speaking more particularly agrees with St. Paul in describing this as faith working through love ; or, as the Catholics translate, taking *energoumené* for passive, rather than middle, faith made operative by love ; or again, using the view of James, "faith formed" and made perfect by works of love, *fides formata*. In other words, both as to grace, free will, good works, and justification, Savonarola accepts without variation the definitions subsequently established by Trent. He does not appear to go even so far toward the Protestant position as Cardinal Pole and Cardinal Contarini afterward went, although, as a man profoundly trusting in God, he would doubtless have fully agreed with Pole that we cannot ascribe too much to grace and too little to ourselves. The Jesuitizing Pelagianism of Count de Maistre, that the greatest wrong done to grace is to make too much of it, would have moved his abhorrence, as it moves that of every right-minded Christian of our own time.

Savonarola's great work, the *Triumph of the Cross*, lays very great stress for the establishment of Christianity on the reason, and greatly prefers this to simple tradition or authority. Indeed, so strong is his language to this effect that he might almost be taken as a harbinger, not of Protestantism only, but of Protestant rationalism. The scheme of doctrine, however, which he regards as so eminently reasonable as hardly

to need the support of tradition and authority is the Roman Catholic. That he has not appealed to the reason in any such way as to be displeasing to the Church is shown by the fact that the *Triumph of the Cross* has been largely used in instructing candidates for the priesthood, and that it has been reprinted by the Propaganda as a useful missionary manual. Why Hermes, the German, should, in our own time, have been condemned for making the same appeal to reason in favor of Catholicism which Rome approves in Savonarola we do not know. Perhaps it is because, as Hermann Grimm remarks, the Italians esteem German Catholics as only, at best, a mitigated sort of Protestants, and therefore are ready to find heresy in them on slight occasion. An Italian, above all a Dominican, might be allowed liberties which would be denied to a suspected Teuton. The mere fact that the Italian perished in a personal contest with an evil pope need not cast any reflection on his doctrine, as indeed Rome after mature consideration has decided that it does not. She remains undecided, in fact, whether it casts any reflection upon himself.

Villari remarks that the great effort of Savonarola, in his expositions of doctrine, is, not to diverge from the definitions of the schoolmen, but from the harshness and cumbrousness of their methods. He desires that theology, divested of a stiff and abstract terminology, should become an essential and easily appropriated element of general human thought, should blend easily with philosophy, science, literature, and the conduct of life. His efforts tend, half-unconsciously it may be, through the instinct of a great preacher and man of affairs, to the fusion of theology with all other forms of knowledge and action. Though hostile to the Renaissance as an endeavor to revive paganism, he was in the noblest sense a humanist, interested in every normal and legitimate human interest. He appears to have had in mind such a simplification and popularizing of theology as in France, through Bossuet and other great writers, made religious thought and feeling an essential part of the national literature. In our time again there are signs of a disposition to take up once more the work of Savonarola in this direction. The noble works of Gioberti are a magnificent example of this. He is a true disciple of

Dante and Savonarola. It is true, through Jesuit influence his works have been put bodily in the Index, but, as the *Encyclopædia Britannica* remarks, this signifies little, so little, indeed, that only two years after the Jesuit edict—of which the pope was merely the executor—the Bishop of Capolago published a complete edition of his writings without any expostulation from Rome. Jesuit detraction will fade away, but the regenerating force of those two generous rivals, Gioberti and Rosmini, will remain.

Savonarola's relations to the State of Florence were in themselves, of course, of no theological import. The greatness of his intelligence and the purity of his purpose are evident in the fact that men of such civil height as Macchiavelli and Guicciardini cannot extol his work for Florence too highly. They declare that the constitution which he gave the republic was the best, for justice and sound policy, that she had ever had in all her innumerable mutations. It was all one to Borgia whether Florence was governed by a despot, an oligarchy, or a democracy. The only question that he asked was how far he could subordinate it to his own schemes. In his manifestoes against Girolamo he has nothing to say against his civic activity. He confines himself entirely to the ecclesiastical domain; to Savonarola's prophetic claims, his denunciations of the pope, his refusals to obey the papal commands enjoining silence on him, and, above all, his refusal, as Dominican Provincial of Tuscany, to obey a papal reconstitution which would have swallowed up him and his brethren of San Marco in a crowd of degenerate friars, and would have ruined his great monastic reform, and rendered it certain that he would have been handed over to Rome. So soon as Savonarola's enemies at Florence secured possession of the Signoria, Borgia was content. When his destruction was assured the republic, which had just before been threatened with interdict, excommunication, and outlawry, was once more the pious Guelphic State, the friend and champion of the Holy See.

That Savonarola had an extraordinary and specific gift of insight into futurity is unquestionable. Villari, who contests the report of miracles and has little faith in the friar's visions, fully admits it. His warning to the people of Brescia of

the horrors that ensued when their city was taken by storm, a warning given many years before there was the slightest appearance of such a probability; his prophecy of the descent of Charles VIII over the Alps before Charles himself had formed the purpose; his forecast of the death within the year of the pope, Lorenzo, and the King of Naples, who showed no signs of being likely to die so soon, and whose death made a profound change in public affairs; his authentic prophecy of the taking of Rome under a pope named Clement, with all the horrors ensuing, and the total destruction of the wealth and magnificence of the proud city, a prophecy given thirty years before the event and circulated in this form many years before the sudden quarrel between pope and emperor brought it so unexpectedly about, and long before the election of Giulio de' Medici, who certainly did not take the name of Clement to help fulfill it—these are salient examples, but not sole examples, of a remarkable power of prophetic insight. That sagacious politician, Philippe de Comines, was profoundly impressed with this endowment in him. Men hard and men easy of belief alike admitted it. It is a fact as clear as the Frate's existence. How are we to explain it? We cannot explain the great achievements of genius, even in the natural order. How much less when they reach the heights of the spiritual order! Yet, though we cannot explain, we can point out, following Savonarola himself in the sounder parts of his exposition of this, the great law of which he is so illustrious an exemplification. It is expressed in one sentence, "The secret of the Lord is with them that fear him." Whoever is in communion with God knows the great lines of his government of the world. Every Christian in his measure is a prophet. The deeper Christian he is the more intimate is his sense of the shape which events are taking under the guiding Hand. Now let a man of great natural genius and wide natural forecast, like Savonarola, come into such a depth of intellectual, moral, and spiritual communion with God and Christ as we see in him, and we may well expect him to be rapt upon miraculous heights of outlooking speculation. This is miraculous indeed, and yet it is natural. It is the miraculous culmination of a broad-lying foundation of diffused evangelical consciousness.

It would have been happy for Savonarola if he had confined himself to this sound and cogent exposition of his prophetic gift. It was amply sufficient to vindicate his possession of it and its unique dignity, while yet it did not sweep him off his feet into a region of fantastic and unintelligible mystery and dis sever him from the multitude of his fellow-believers. It would have left him a true and great prophet, yet it would not have bound either himself or his followers to a slavish necessity of believing that every forecast of his must infallibly be fulfilled. It would have secured for him all that deference of expectation which was his due, while it would not have chained up his disciples in a mechanical bondage of their own faculties. It would have brought out the great truth that all the gifts of an imperfect Christian man, ordinary and extraordinary, are imperfect like himself. Absolute infallibility belongs only to Him in whom heart and mind are absolutely at one with God.

Unhappily, however, for Savonarola, he did not confine himself to this sound and easily defensible position. From his early years his sensitive frame and imagination bodied forth his mental experiences in visionary forms. These he was not content to understand for what they were, a projection from within. Following the general current of his age and the statements of his great authority, Thomas Aquinas, he reversed the truth, and would have it that these visions came from without and were impressed upon him by angelic influence. The age of the Renaissance, like other ages of decaying faith, was perfectly saturated with such opinions. Believers and unbelievers, Christians and Neoplatonists alike, and atheists no less, lived in an atmosphere of tutelary powers, astral influences, occult forces of minerals and plants, and above all of gems, and all manner of similar fantasies. Savonarola was swept fully into the current of the times, to which his native temperament so much predisposed him to yield, and to which the moral tension of his struggle with evil in the highest places gave added force. Where he had a great practical work before him—a work of ecclesiastical or monastic, and, above all, of civil, reform—there no man was more sure-footed. There his visions did him no harm. Indeed,

they may be said to have benefited him. They encompassed him in an atmosphere of high imaginings through which there penetrated only the great lines of reality and the great principles of things, suppressing all pettiness of insignificant detail. But in his sermons he was continually looking into the future, and here his undoubting confidence in all his visions, as in something given him by a higher power, confused and overbore his sounder intuitions, which were thus almost lost in a crowd of unrealized fancies. Yet, as neither he nor his disciples would acknowledge any difference in the two classes of predictions, they were driven to all sorts of subtle and futile interpretations and evasions, which in the end had no small share in bringing about his ruin. This was the worse when Savonarola began to give credit to the visions of the weak and fantastic Fra Silvestro. Silvestro himself at first held these lightly, recognizing that they resulted from a kind of epileptic habit. He indeed sharply rebuked his prior when he saw that he was impressed by them. But Savonarola, who was completely immersed in his theory of angelic communications, would not be persuaded that Silvestro's visions were not also celestial. Indeed, in his unfeigned humility, he put them higher than his own. Thus the two men acted and reacted on each other, ruinously to both.

Savonarola was deeply devoted to the study of the Bible. This, however, was not in the sense of a careful exegesis. This can hardly be said to have been known. With the fathers and the schoolmen Savonarola, by the help of the literal, the allegorical, the mystical, and the anagogical sense, finds in the Scriptures very nearly everything that he wants to find. Whatever the preacher conceives to be the truth of God he can, by this plastic manner of interpretation, easily find reechoed by the word of God. Savonarola is saturated with the Bible. So is Aquinas. So is Dante. So, long afterward, is Bellarmine. So is the Jesuit Suarez. Yet no one of these men studies the Bible with any view of revising the doctrine of the Church. St. Paul's consciousness, "We know in part," has not as yet passed very deeply into the consciousness of Christendom, Catholic or Protestant. Let anyone take the apostle's declaration in earnest, and treat the

Bible as astronomy treats the starry heavens—as something every fresh perusal of which, and every added faculty of vision, may be expected to bring out fresh stars or planets, or to modify our apprehensions of those already found—and he would be apt to find that his way of proceeding was contemned as futile, or dreaded as dangerous. Of any such way or end of Bible study there seem to be but dubious traces in Savonarola. The Bible for him, as for most Christians of all ages, seems to be for application, not for discovery. To say that, if he should become persuaded that it taught some doctrine contrary to what was commonly held, he would accept it, would of course be impossible for a Roman Catholic remaining such, and it would be practically almost impossible to a Protestant theologian, unless he was ready to leave his present companionship. Joseph Butler and Samuel Hopkins, in their anticipations of what may be expected to result from the following up of “unexplored remainders,” have hitherto spoken to inattentive, or even to hostile, ears. The very phrase is odious to the current orthodoxy, Protestant hardly less than Catholic.

Of course, the Bible has in a general way from the beginning guided the Church and all her teachers. Christians would never have accepted doctrines which they believed to be contradicted by Scripture. If it be said that the Catholic Church has often done this in fact, Protestants certainly have no call to deny it. It might be hard to show a Church that has not done so. Savonarola's study of the Bible, therefore, cannot well be viewed as anything essentially different from that of Augustine or Ambrose, Anselm or Thomas or Dante. The study of the Bible, in its proper sense, as the continuously formative source of Christian doctrine, hardly antedates this century, and will doubtless have a hard struggle in the next before it establishes itself victoriously in the Church. Savonarola's study of the Bible, though not untouched with the modern spirit, seems to remain essentially mediæval.

There are naturally two wings of Catholic theologians, those who love the Bible more than the fathers and those who love the fathers more than the Bible. Savonarola doubtless belongs to the former wing, although not slighting the fathers. In this

sense he may be said to anticipate the subsequent Protestantism. Yet the difference between the two wings is of proportion, not of principle. Pius IX, for instance, as we have been assured by Dr. Schaff, was poorly read in the fathers and schoolmen, but very well read in the Scriptures. Yet assuredly the worthy pope will never be accused of being an embryonic or unconscious Protestant. So also Cardinal Richard is solicitous that his diocesans of Paris shall imitate our Protestant habit of Sunday school Bible study. The eminent archbishop has no fear of doctrinal aberrations resulting from this. The principle on which Catholics avowedly and most Protestants really act, of subordinating the interpretation of the Bible to the interpretation allowed by the creed, is a pretty good guarantee against these. The Old Catholics of Utrecht commend New Testament study to their candidates of theology first, last, and in the midst. Yet in two centuries they have not varied in the least from either the doctrines or the discipline of the Council of Trent. It is not, therefore, the absorbing study of the Bible that is specially Protestant; it is the study of the Bible as a test of established doctrine. Of this there appears to be no more in Savonarola than in Aquinas before him, or in Bellarmine or Suarez after him.

Savonarola and his junior, Luther, who was fifteen years old when the friar was martyred—though he probably knew nothing of it then—both yearned for a renewal of Christianity, for the suppression of paganism and of corruption in the Church. Had Savonarola been a German, and lived thirty years later, he would probably have been a champion of the Reformation, simply because most earnest-minded men in the Teutonic world were that. Being an Italian, had he lived thirty or fifty years later, or twice that, he would probably have been a champion of the Counter-reformation, for most earnest-minded Italians were that. The Counter-reformation, though not containing the fruitful germs of the northern movement, was more specifically and immediately directed to the revival of devoutness and morality than the Reformation. Germany and Switzerland, for the first Protestant generation, or perhaps more, seemed in danger of lapsing into mere lawlessness. Especially was this true of Germany. Many of

Luther's own sayings smack dangerously of Antinomianism. It was only slowly that the northern races were gathered under the guardianship of new systems of doctrine and polity. These systems were hardly less rigid than that which they had left, but they were at least their own. The Teutonic and Celto-Teutonic genius breathed more freely in them. The Italian genius, however, neither in Savonarola nor in his disciples or successors found any call to depart from that form of doctrine and polity which had been its own creation. The Italians had not become tired of Francis and Aquinas, of Bonaventura and Dante. Savonarola would probably have chanted his "*Nunc dimittis*" had he lived to see the reforming activity of the Council of Trent, to see a Paul IV and a Pius V in the seat of an Alexander or a Julius. Though not himself intolerant of temper, it is not likely that the rigid repression of heresy would have greatly scandalized him, the Italian Dominican. He would almost have thought that the New Jerusalem was to be seen in a Rome from which heathen cardinals and profligate bishops had fled, and which was swayed by the counsels of the Borromeos and refreshed by the devotions of a Philip Neri. He would have rejoiced in the rich variety of the new pious and charitable orders, and the reforms instituted in the old. He would have been thankful to see a generation of bishops that had not bought their sees, that actually lived among their people, attentive to their pastoral duties. He would have followed with deep attention and approbation the early activities of Jesuitism, still on its highest plane. He might not have shown the fierceness of a Ghislieri toward the northern heresies, but there seems no reason to suppose that he would have regarded them with any favor. So free and bold a spirit as Gioberti, in our own age, is witness how hard it is for an Italian to enter into sympathy with Protestantism. How much less could Savonarola have reconciled himself to the semi-Antinomian forms of the earliest Lutheranism? No one can say what any particular man would have been in a preceding or a following generation. Yet, as Savonarola in his own day was absolutely content with the Dominican orthodoxy, he would probably have remained content with it when it had once more gained complete control of Italian life. So far as we can con-

jecture probabilities in the case of Savonarola from the conduct of his disciples, his teaching and influence do not seem to have led in any way toward Protestantism. In 1529 or 1530 the Piagnoni—"the Weepers"—as his followers were called, were for a little while again in control at Florence. These found a few Lutherans in the city, and set upon them with such fury that they fled at once to save their lives.

Since the Roman decree of 1559 Savonarola's enemies in the Church, not being permitted any longer to call him a heretic, have concentrated their attacks on the two charges of visionary enthusiasm and of rebellion against the pope. In the former accusation we must agree with them, although it is only true in such a sense as leaves Savonarola still a great and good man. His disobedience to the pope does not concern us greatly; the question is, What aspect does it bear in the Catholic Church? It is variously regarded here, and indeed cannot well be reduced to any hard and fast principle that shall either condemn it or allow it. No divine teaches the duty of absolute obedience to the pope, even in matters strictly ecclesiastical. Savonarola acknowledges that a priest is bound to presume it his duty to obey the holy father in all matters of his office; he is only excused by a manifest obligation of charity and of the good of the Church. This is undisputed Catholic doctrine, reproduced from the fathers and schoolmen. The Jesuits, in their constitutions, express the same doctrine in the same words: "We are bound to obey the pope and all superiors, so far as is consistent with charity." "*Charitas*," we need not say, is the compendious term for supreme love to God and equal love to man. The question, then, is not of principle, but of fact. Girolamo had said, what Joan of Arc had said about seventy years earlier, "I will obey the Church after I have obeyed our Lord God." The Church is advancing her now to the honors of canonization, and there is nothing in his words to withhold him from obtaining them too. The only question is, What was his motive of resistance? Was it self-will and self-exalting pride; or righteous but excessive indignation; or a warranted contempt of usurped authority; or a noble disregard of an authority, legitimate indeed, but exercised by a wicked man for pernicious ends? Of these four

varying judgments the third was that of Julius II, who, though himself very far from being a good man, had been the Frate's supporter as against Alexander VI. Julius carried through the Fifth Lateran Council a vote declaring Roderick Borgia to have been no true pope, pronouncing his election hopelessly vitiated by simony. In this view, therefore, Savonarola had merely been resisting a usurper. Julius is quoted as having declared him a prophet and martyr and worthy of canonization. He did not find it expedient to carry out this purpose formally, yet he may be said to have canonized Jerome in fact. It was under commission from him that Raphael has adorned the walls of the Vatican with the portrait of Savonarola standing among the fathers and doctors of the Church. There it has looked down on a long succession of changing popes for nearly four centuries. No one of them has ventured to obliterate it, not even the three Medicean popes of Florence, who were his hereditary enemies. This ocular demonstration of deep honor might perhaps be declared a clearer witness to that underlying mind of the Church regarding him to which Bishop Creighton refers than even a formal pronouncement.

However, so long as the voluptuous waves of pagan Renaissance still rolled over the chair of Peter, under a Leo X, a Clement VII, and even a Paul III, the prevailing feeling in Italy, at least in high places, remained hostile to Savonarola, or at best dubious. The Dominicans had already begun to entertain that veneration for him as a saint and martyr which gradually spread until it controlled the whole order. The Bollandists a hundred and fifty years ago thought it necessary to offer the Dominicans an apology for not including Girolamo in the list of saints whose memory is to be celebrated on the twenty-third of May. Yet for half a century or more the Curia forced generals on the Dominicans from among the Frate's enemies. These tried to suppress among their brethren and sisters the habit of invoking his intercession with God. How far they succeeded externally we do not know, but they did not succeed in restraining the growing tide of veneration for him within the order as being undoubtedly a glorified saint. The accession of Paul IV, in 1555, marks the final subjugation

of paganism and the reinstitution in intense aggressiveness of Catholic Christianity. With this came the rehabilitation of Savonarola's memory. In 1559 the pope, who had at first declared the friar a mere anticipation of Martin Luther, approved a decree drawn up by a commission of four cardinals after an exhaustive deliberation of six months, declaring all of Savonarola's writings soundly Catholic, although for prudential reasons the decree suspended the reading of his treatise on "Prophetic Verity" and of some of his sermons. The full account of this is given by Cardinal Capececiatello in his life of Philip Neri. This action is the more significant because the decree was drawn up under the continuous supervision of Michael Ghislieri, the inexorable grand inquisitor of Rome, afterward reigning as Pius V, the intensest persecutor of Protestantism that has ever lived. The final reestablishment of Savonarola's orthodoxy, therefore, was not action taken inadvertently or by surprise. It proceeded from the very heart of the Counter-reformation.

The decree did not touch the question of Savonarola's disobedience to the pope, which concerned fact, not doctrine. The Lateran denial of Alexander's title has not found acceptance in the Church. It is acknowledged that, wicked as he was, he was validly pope. Ought Savonarola then to have obeyed his command to cease from preaching and, even in the view of certain death, the command to repair to Rome? Hardly anyone will maintain the latter, but most, even of his admirers, blame, though gently, his refusal to be silent when the pope commanded. This is allowed by Cardinal Alfonso Capececiatello, the present Archbishop of Capua, who, as an old Oratorian, inherits St. Philip Neri's veneration for the friar. It is known that St. Philip used to keep a portrait of Savonarola in his private chapel surrounded by a halo. It is increasingly allowed that if Savonarola's disobedience was censurable at all it was a very venial offense. Since Leo XIII has thrown open the Borgia records all further attempts to apologize for Alexander VI are hopelessly futile.

Cardinal Capececiatello in his life of St. Philip Neri remarks that, besides Philip, others cherished the memory of Savonarola. Writing of this profound reverence, he says :

S. Catherine dei Ricci, S. Francis of Paula, the blessed Maria Bagnesi, Colomba of Rieti, and Catherine of Racconigi all cherished with affectionate veneration the memory of Savonarola. Some of the popes esteemed him greatly. Julius II declared him worthy to be enrolled amongst the blessed; Raphael has given us his portrait in the *stanze* among the doctors of the Church; Paul III compelled Cosmo the First to reinstate in S. Mark's in Florence the Dominicans who had been expelled in hatred of Savonarola; Clement VIII held him in singular veneration, had serious thoughts of canonizing him, and allowed his portraits to be seen in Rome, with rays about his head, and with the titles of "blessed," and "doctor," and "martyr;" and, to sum up all, Benedict XIV places the name of Savonarola in the list he drew up of saints and blessed and others renowned for their sanctity.

The Jesuits seem to have quietly opposed his canonization, perhaps quite as much because he was a Dominican as for any other reason. Now, however, that of late years the Dominicans have been more amenable to Jesuit influence, the Jesuits, in turn, seem to be remitting of their opposition to the great Dominican martyr. The writer has a recent pamphlet, written by a Dominican and edited by a Jesuit, greatly extolling the Frate, and speaking sympathetically of past proposals to canonize him. Rome ought to do this for her own sake. He died in full communion of the Roman Church, fortified by the viaticum, administered with her full consent by him to himself and to his two companions of martyrdom. The momentary excommunication pronounced against them—for political, not really for religious, ends—was immediately revoked by the impartation to all three of a plenary indulgence, whereby they were pontifically declared to be, probably, not even in purgatory, but in paradise. Now that the wickedness of Alexander's action and character is fully recognized, and that Savonarola's Catholic orthodoxy has long since been proclaimed by Rome, there seems to be no sufficient reason why she should not now proceed to detach him from his unhistorical association with Wyclif and Huss and the worthies of the Reformation, by gathering him into his legitimate place among the worthies of the Roman calendar.

Charles C. Starbuck

ART. VII.—THE COVENANT OF SALT.

A COVENANT is an agreement or obligation between two or more persons, contracted with deliberation and solemnity. Whether written or verbal, it may be accompanied by certain rites or symbolic acts which add to the sacredness of the obligation. It may frequently happen that these rites, or but inconsiderable parts of the same, are all that remain to inform us as to the nature of an old covenant. We present in this article a brief study of one of the most ancient, the "covenant of salt." We may group the biblical passages which will assist us in the treatment of our subject :

1. The passages in the Old Testament which refer more or less clearly to the ritual of sacrifices and offerings, or to covenant-making. "And every oblation of thy meal offering shalt thou season with salt; neither shalt thou suffer the salt of the covenant of thy God to be lacking from thy meal offering: with all thine oblations thou shalt offer salt" (Lev. ii, 13).* "All the heave offerings of the holy things, which the children of Israel offer unto the Lord, have I given thee, and thy sons and thy daughters with thee, as a due forever: it is a covenant of salt forever before the Lord unto thee and to thy seed with thee" (Num. xviii, 19). "And Abijah stood up upon Mount Zemaraim, which is in the hill country of Ephraim, and said, Hear me, O Jeroboam and all Israel; ought ye not to know that the Lord, the God of Israel, gave the kingdom over Israel to David forever, even to him and to his sons by a covenant of salt?" (2 Chron. xiii, 4, 5.)† Concerning the offerings which were to be presented at the cleansing of the temple the prophet directed, "And thou shalt bring them near before the Lord, and the priests shall cast salt upon them, and they shall offer them up for a burnt offering unto the Lord" (Ezek. xliii, 24). "Take unto thee sweet spices, stacte, and onycha, and galbanum; sweet spices with pure frankincense: of each shall there be a like weight; and thou shalt make of it incense, a perfume after the art of the per-

* The Revised Version will be followed throughout this discussion.

† Comp. 1 Sam. xvi, 1, 2, 12, 13; 2 Sam. vii, 13-16.

fumer, seasoned with salt, pure and holy" (Exod. xxx, 34, 35). The margin has "tempered together" instead of "seasoned with salt," and this agrees with the Authorized Version. The latter places "salted" in the margin.

As to covenant-making the following passage may be quoted: "Now because we eat the salt of the palace, and it is not meet for us to see the king's dishonor, therefore have we sent and certified the king" (Ezra iv, 14). The Authorized Version has, "we have maintenance from the king's palace," and places in the margin the alternative reading, "we are salted with the salt of the palace." The original might be translated, "we salt the salt of the palace." This certainly means something more than to be in the king's pay, or to be supported by the king's bounty, as explained by Keil, Schultz, and many other commentators. Salt is necessary, not only to make the food palatable—"Can that which hath no savor be eaten without salt?" (Job vi, 6)—but also to sanctify the meal. Those who partake of the common meal are thereby bound together in brother-friendship. To "salt the salt," to eat the salt, to sit at the king's table, or to partake of his bounty is to become a party to a covenant of friendship which it were a crime of no inferior magnitude to break.

2. There are several passages in which "salt" is used as a symbol of destruction or barrenness. "And Abimelech fought against the city all that day; and he took the city, and slew the people that was therein; and he beat down the city, and sowed it with salt" (Judg. ix, 45). The pure waters proceeding from the house of God shall heal everything which they reach; "But the miry places thereof, and the marishes thereof, shall not be healed; they shall be given up to salt" (Ezek. xlvii, 11). The ungodly man "shall be like the heath in the desert, and shall not see when good cometh; but shall inhabit the parched places in the wilderness, a salt land and not inhabited" (Jer. xvii, 6). "The whole land thereof is brimstone, and salt, and a burning, that it is not sown, nor beareth; nor any grass groweth therein" (Deut. xxix, 23).

He turneth rivers into a wilderness,
And watersprings into a thirsty ground;
A fruitful land into a salt desert,
For the wickedness of them that dwell therein (Psa. cvii, 33, 34).

The Authorized Version has "barrenness" in place of "a salt desert," but "saltness" appears in the margin.

Whose house I have made the wilderness,
And the salt land his dwelling place (Job xxxix, 6).

Here again the Authorized Version has "the barren land" instead of "the salt land," but places the alternative reading "salt places" in the margin. "The heavens shall vanish away like smoke, and the earth shall wax old like a garment, and they that dwell therein shall die in like manner [margin, 'like gnats']" (Isa. li, 6). The passage might be translated, "the heavens shall be salted." This is the only place in the Bible, we think, where the Hebrew word is translated by "vanish away."

Abimelech sowed the city of Shechem with salt, not merely to symbolize its utter destruction, but rather to place it under a ban or curse. It was thenceforth considered tabooed to all human use, and devoted to God alone. This seems to have been the original meaning of the rite. The waters which proceeded from the house of God were to heal everything except "the miry places" and "the marishes." The latter were given up to salt, that is, devoted to destruction, or placed under a ban. The "salt land" which the ungodly man shall inhabit is tabooed against any real satisfaction of his legitimate needs. This symbolic use of salt in the ban or curse is derived from its use in sacrifices and covenants. The original idea was the same. The salted sacrifice was destroyed for all exclusive human use; the object placed under a ban was destroyed for some or all of its former legitimate uses. The survival of the sacrificial or covenant idea, therefore, together with the real properties of salt, makes it an appropriate symbol of destruction and barrenness. In some of these passages the original idea connected with the use of salt is obscured, but we have introduced none in which its meaning is to be interpreted only in a strictly literal sense.

3. The following passages may be more conveniently treated by themselves: "And the men of the city said unto Elisha, Behold, we pray thee, the situation of this city is pleasant, as my lord seeth: but the water is naught, and the land miscarieth [margin, 'casteth her fruit']. And he said, Bring me

a new cruse, and put salt therein. And they brought it to him. And he went forth unto the spring of the waters, and cast salt therein, and said, Thus saith the Lord, I have healed these waters; there shall not be from thence any more death or miscarrying [margin, 'casting of fruit']. So the waters were healed unto this day, according to the word of Elisha which he spake" (2 Kings ii, 19-22). To understand this passage we must refer to the account of the capture of Jericho. At the command of the Lord, Joshua said unto the Israelites: "The city shall be devoted, even it and all that is therein, to the Lord. . . . And ye, in any wise keep yourselves from the devoted thing, lest when ye have devoted it, ye take of the devoted thing; so should ye make the camp of Israel accursed, and trouble it. But all the silver, and gold, and vessels of brass and iron, are holy unto the Lord: they shall come into the treasury of the Lord. . . . Cursed be the man before the Lord, that riseth up and buildeth this city Jericho: with the loss of his firstborn shall he lay the foundation thereof, and with the loss of his youngest son shall he set up the gates of it" (Josh. vi, 17-19, 26). The city was solemnly set apart to God, to be dealt with according to his will. Neither the city itself nor anything therein could be appropriated to human use. Achan transgressed and brought swift destruction upon himself and his family (Josh. vii, 1, 24-26). Hiel the Bethelite built the city, but the curse was fulfilled in his sons (1 Kings xvi, 34). There had been built a city previous to the time of Hiel, but probably it did not occupy the old site, and hence did not come under the curse. The ban had not been removed from the ancient site. Salt was cast into the fountain by Elisha to symbolize the purification of its waters. But it had another and higher meaning, the removal of the curse and the renewal of the covenant between God and "the men of the city."

Again the prophet addresses Jerusalem: "And as for thy nativity, in the day thou wast born thy navel was not cut, neither wast thou washed in water to cleanse thee; thou wast not salted at all, nor swaddled at all" (Ezek. xvi, 4). In explanation of this peculiar passage we may remark that it is still the custom in Syria and Palestine to "salt"

infants. The child, as soon as washed, is wrapped in pulverized common salt, which is changed on three successive days. Sometimes the salt is dissolved and the babe bathed in the brine. This is a more merciful provision. A native mother said of a European child, "Poor thing! It was not salted at all."* May not this symbol have been employed to consecrate the new life and bring it into visible covenant relationship with the tribe? The explanations of these two passages are but suggestions, presented with great diffidence, and yet we deem them worthy of careful consideration. They are in complete harmony with ancient beliefs and customs. We find that all the passages from the Old Testament in which the word "salt" occurs—omitting those in which the word is used only in a literal sense—are connected intimately or remotely with covenant-making, or covenant-confirming, and consecrating or devoting.

4. We also find in the classics proof of the primary importance of the use of salt in the rites connected with ancient sacrifices and covenants. It is said that Numa first established in Rome "the custom of offering corn to the gods, and of propitiating them with the salted cake."† When an offering was made to Janus, the old Roman god who gave name to the first month of our year, the officiating priest laid on the altar the cake of corn bread and the spelt mixed with salt. "The sparkling grain of unadulterated salt" was believed to be efficacious to render the gods propitious to man. "The little grain of salt" was also offered to the shades of the dead.‡ Pliny says:

The higher enjoyments of life could not exist without the use of salt; indeed, so highly necessary is this substance to mankind that the pleasures of the mind even can be expressed by no better term than the word "salt," such being the name given to all effusions of wit. All the amenities, in fact, of life, supreme hilarity, and relaxation from toil can find no word in our language to characterize them better than this. Even in the very honors, too, that are bestowed upon successful warfare salt plays its part, and from it our word "*salarium*" is derived.

After praising salt in food and as a medicine he continues: "But it is in our sacred rites, more particularly, that its highest importance is to be recognized, no offering ever being made

* Getkile, *The Holy Land and the Bible*, vol. II, p. 154.

† Pliny, xviii, 2.

‡ Ovid, *Fasts*, I, 137, 128, 276, 277, 337-339; II, 537-540.

unaccompanied by the salted cake."* Among the rites of sorcery the crumbling of the sacred cake held a most prominent place.

Crumble the sacred cake, let wither'd bays
Inflam'd with liquid sulphur crackling blaze.

The *mola*, or "sacred cake," was made of meal salted and kneaded, *molita*, whence it derives its name. So important was its use in connection with sacrificing that the victim was said to be *im-molated*. The *mola* was crumbled on the head of the victim, and also on the hearth and even the sacrificial knives.† The images of the Lares and the saltcellar, placed upon the table, consecrated the feast; and the household gods were propitiated by the pious offering of meal and a little salt—*farre pio et mica saliente*.‡ Preparatory to the voyage of the *Argo* Jason offered a sacrifice to Apollo, and first of all sprinkled the salted meal.

Among the Greeks "to eat salt together" meant to be united by the ties of hospitality; and "to have eaten a bushel of salt together" meant to have been friends for a long time. They swore by the table and by the salt; and salt was used at every meal except among the barbarous tribes of men. To "lick salt" was a proverbial expression, and meant to live sparingly. The consecrated cake seems to have been essential whenever a sacrifice was offered.§ Philo Judæus says that salt "figuratively implies a duration forever; for salt is calculated to preserve bodies, being placed in the second rank as inferior only to the soul; for as the soul is the cause of bodies not being destroyed, so likewise is salt, which keeps them together in the greatest degree, and to some extent makes them immortal."|| Lucian gives a charm by which a maid may win the affections of a reluctant lover. A witch gains possession of some portion of his clothing, a few hairs, or some other

* Pliny, xxxi, 41.

† Virgil, *Eclagues*, viii, 82; *Æneid*, ii, 133; iv, 517; xii, 173.

‡ Horace, *Odes*, II, xvi, 14; III, xxiii, 20; *Satires*, II, iii, 200. Comp. Homer, *Iliad*, I, 440-458; Apollonius Rhodius, *The Argonautica*, I, 400, *et seq.*; Plato, *Timæus*, 60; Callimachus, *Epigram*, III; Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, II, 459; Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii, 57; Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Philosophers*, pp. 352, 353.

§ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, II, viii, 3; Plutarch, 2, 94 A; Homer, *Odysseus*, III, 445; iv, 761; xi, 123; xiv, 158; Archilochus, 81; Æschines, 85; Plautus, *Curculio*, iv, scene iv; Herodotus, I, 132; Aristophanes, *Pax*, 948, 960; Juvenal, *Satires*, xii, 85; Cicero, *De Divinatione*, II, 16.

|| Philo, *Treatise on Those who Offer Sacrifice*, 6.

object which belongs to his person or effects. She hangs these on a nail, fumigates them, sprinkles salt in the fire in the name of the maid, at the same time couples her name with that of her lover, twirls a spindle, utters further spells, and the charm is effective. In the popular belief in many countries when a person has been bewitched a counter-charm will release the victim from the thrall. In Italy the clothes of the bewitched child are boiled, and to render the counter-charm more effective a fork is repeatedly stuck into them during the boiling. If this be done it is believed that the child will recover and the witch will die. At Venice it is believed that the witch herself will appear and ask for salt; if it be given the counter-charm will be destroyed. Even some substitute for salt will work the same charm. That which is done in the name of a person is magically done to the person himself. The two lovers are bound in covenant relation when the salt is thrown into the fire. When the witch herself appears, after the bond has been broken by a counter-charm, and salt is given her, the parties from whom she receives it are brought into a friendship covenant with her and become partners in her transaction, and all which they have done to counteract her charm comes to naught.*

The sources of supply of salt and incense determined ancient commercial routes. The *Via Salaria* was the road by which the salt of Ostia was carried into the country of the Sabines. The caravan route across the great Libyan desert connected oases within which were hillocks of salt. The salt of the Ammonians was so excellent in quality that it was sent to Persia for the table of the king.† An unknown correspondent connected with the Coronado expedition, 1540-42, wrote that they found salt "the best and whitest that I have seen in all my life." The ancient cliff-dwellings were connected with the sacred "Lake of Salt" by trail. The modern villages of the Zunis, who are the descendants of the Cibolans and the more ancient cliff-dwellers, are connected with this lake in like manner. A company, organized to procure the necessary supply of salt, makes an annual, or still more important

* Lucian, *Hetairai*, Dialogue iv; Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, vol. II, p. 114; comp. Theocritus, *Idyll* II.

† Pliny, xxxi, 41; Dion, Fragment 15; Herodotus, iv, 129-185.

quadrennial, ceremonial and religious pilgrimage to this source of supply. Upon the return Zuni priests carry, in advance of the cargoes of salt for common use, little bags of sacred salt. Similar bags of salt, as well as "salt in kernels," mentioned by the Spanish chroniclers, have been found in the cliff-dwellings. Another instance is the famous "*Cerro de Sal*" of Peru, to which trails lead from remote parts of South America.*

"The feast days of the Salii were also those of the *matronalia*, or women's festival, when beans were exchanged and eaten. The eating raw, with salt, of the young tender pods of the broad beans is still a common incident of the spring in that part of France which was formerly the center of the Santones, and small cottages vie with each other in having their *primeur*."† The pods represented the flesh, and the salt the blood of the sacrifice. This is an annual renewal of the covenant of friendship.

5. We may trace similar rites among many other nations and tribes, both ancient and modern. When the Chinese observe the last festival of the year they build a bonfire of pine wood before the ancestral tablets of the family. Salt is thrown upon the flame, and its crackling is an omen of good luck for the following year. In the religion of the Hindus salt scattered on the sacrificial hearth was interpreted to represent cattle, and was said to be the saviour of the sky and earth; it was also called the "sacrificial essence."‡ The goddess of salt among the ancient Mexicans was Huixtocihuatl, and religious celebrations with sanguinary rites were held in her honor. She is said to have been a sister of the rain god, but the brother and sister had a quarrel and she was driven into the sea and invented the art of making salt. Her devotees were chiefly salt-makers.§ When the Ainos kill the divine bear as a sacrifice to renew the brotherhood covenant they drink the fresh blood and swallow the raw brain and liver with salt. ||

* Bureau of Ethnology, vol. xiv, p. 565; Frank H. Cushing, "Outlines of Zuni Creation Myths, Bureau of Ethnology, vol. xiii, pp. 352-355.

† O'Neill, *The Night of the Gods*, vol. ii, p. 718.

‡ *Satapatha Brahmana*, II Kanda, I *Adhyaya*, I *Brahmana* 9; *Tattariyeh Brahmana*, I, I, 3, 2.

§ Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. ii, pp. 325, 326.

|| Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, vol. ii, p. 104.

Stanley visited the Irebu, on the Upper Congo, and made blood-brotherhood with Mangombo, their chief. He writes:

The fetich man pricked each of our right arms, pressed the blood out; then, with a pinch of scrapings from my gunstock, a little salt, a few dusty scrapings from a long pod, dropped over the wounded arms, . . . the black and the white arms were mutually rubbed together. The fetich man took the long pod in his hand and slightly touched our necks, our hands, our arms, and our legs, muttering rapidly his litany of incantations. What was left of the medicine Mangombo and I carefully folded in a banana leaf, and we bore it reverently between us to a banana grove close by, and buried the dust out of sight.*

When Major Barttelot made blood-brotherhood with one of the chiefs of the Yambura a pinch of salt was placed on the flowing blood and both parties to the covenant licked the combination.† A similar ceremony was that connected with the covenant of brotherhood made with Mata Bwyki, the senior chief of the Bangala. With Uchunku, the prince royal of Ankovi, butter took the place of salt. An incision was made in the arm of each party to the covenant, a small portion of butter was placed on each of two leaflets, the blood was mixed with the butter, the leaflets were exchanged, and the foreheads of each rubbed with the mixture.‡

A native Syrian places the blood of a sacrifice on the threshold to honor and welcome an expected guest. But if the guest arrive unexpectedly salt may be used instead. It is a common custom in Russia to receive an honored guest at the threshold of the house with the presentation of salt.§ Among the Arabs the expression "*michash*," "scarified ones," is used for "confederates." Goldziher thinks that the term properly means "the burnt ones," and is an example of a covenant of fire such as Jauhari and Nowairi mention under the head of "*nar al-hula*." The "scarified ones" are more probably those who bear the scars of the rites of the blood-brotherhood. In the case mentioned by Jauhari and Nowairi every tribe had a fire, and when two men had a dispute they swore before the fire into which at the same time a priest cast salt. An oath

* Stanley, *The Congo*, vol. ii, pp. 22-24. † Stanley, *In Darkest Africa*, vol. i, p. 132.

‡ Stanley, *The Congo*, vol. ii, pp. 79-90; *In Darkest Africa*, vol. ii, p. 379; comp. Wood, *Uncivilized Races*, vol. i, p. 440.

§ Frumbull, *The Threshold Covenant*, pp. 5, 9.

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by ashes and salt is mentioned by Al-A'shā in a line cited by Wellhausen. The ashes of the cooking-pot are a symbol of hospitality. This oath may be an appeal to the bond of the common food or common blood that unites the tribesmen.*

6. This symbolism may be traced in many modern customs and superstitions. Sometimes the covenant idea is readily recognized; at other times there remain but survivals of the original meaning. At the ceremony of betrothal among the Mordvins, a Finnish people on the Volga, a prayer is offered to the household divinities, and then "the girl's father cuts off the corner of a loaf of bread with three slashes of a knife, salts it, and places it under the threshold, where the penates are believed to frequent. This is called the 'god's portion.'" He ratifies the terms of the betrothal, and again places bread and salt under the threshold, carrying it from the table "on the point of a knife—under no circumstances in the hands." Among the Erza of the Mordvins, when the bridegroom and his friends go to conduct the bride to her future home, her parents meet them at the door with words of welcome and bread and salt. In all such cases the bread and salt represent the body and blood of a sacrifice, and are offered in a covenant of friendship. This is clearly shown by comparison with many similar customs in which animal sacrifices are actually employed.† In Japan the threshold is sprinkled with salt after a funeral. "Many a Pennsylvanian is unwilling to cross for the first time the threshold of a new house without carrying salt and a Bible."‡ The use of salt has been found in survival of the feast of the dead. The devil is said to hate salt because it is an emblem of immortality and eternity. Reginald Scot cites Bodin as declaring that "the devil loveth no salt in his meat." The holy water employed in the consecration of Gallican churches, altars, and bells is mingled with salt, ashes, and wine, each separately blessed. In the early centuries salt was used in the baptismal rite.§

In a publication dated at Strasburg in 1666 there is an

* W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites: Fundamental Institutions*, p. 460.

† Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant*, pp. 32, 33, 43, 44.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 21.

§ Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, vol. II, pp. 234-236; Kurtz, *Church History*, vol. I, p. 367.

account of the celebration of "deposition" and the ceremony of salt. One of the heads of the college explains to the young academicians as follows :

With regard to the ceremony of salt the sentiments and opinions both of divines and philosophers concur in making salt the emblem of wisdom and learning; and that not only on account of what it is composed of, but also with respect to the several uses to which it is applied. As to its component parts, as it consists of the purest matter, so ought wisdom to be pure, sound, immaculate, and incorruptible; and similar to the effects which salt produces upon bodies ought to be those of wisdom and learning upon the mind. . . . This rite of salt is a pledge or earnest which you give that you will strenuously apply yourselves to the study of good arts and as earnestly devote yourselves to the several duties of your vocation.

A pinch of salt was placed on the tongue of every freshman. Salt is used in connection with the Montem ceremonies of Eton. The boys give a pinch of salt to the spectators and receive a subsidy of money in exchange. The festivities were anciently celebrated on Salt Hill, which may have taken its name from this custom.*

Speaking of the Isle of Man, Waldron says: "No person will go out on any material affair without taking some salt in his pocket, much less remove from one home to another, marry, put out a child, or take one to nurse, without salt being mutually interchanged; nay, though a poor creature be almost famished in the streets he will not accept any food you will give him unless you join salt to the rest of your benevolence." Camden, in his *Ancient and Modern Manners of the Irish*, says: "In the town, when any enter upon a public office, women in the streets and girls from the windows sprinkle them and their attendants with wheat and salt. And before the seed is put into the ground the mistress of the family sends salt into the field." Bread and salt seem to have been used in some parts of Great Britain in taking a very strong oath. The salt oath is practiced in Japan. In the *Particular Divine Record* it is said: "According to Toyo-tama-fiko's command they gave him salt water. He drank it and said, 'If I break this oath may I never again eat salt!'" Sometimes before drinking the "salt juice" the parties to the oath bow in the

* Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, vol. I, pp. 433-437.

direction of the four quarters of the heavens and the earth.* The spilling or overturning of salt is considered an evil omen. It portends the rupture of friendship. The salt falls toward him to whom the omen especially points. The threatened evil may be averted by throwing a small quantity of the salt into the fire or over the back or shoulder, thus repudiating the omen. In the celebrated painting of the "Last Supper" by Leonardi da Vinci the saltcellar is represented as overturned.

7. We have traced the employment of salt in the ceremonies connected with sacrificing and covenant-making in the Old Testament, in the writings of many classic authors, in ancient and modern customs among nations in all parts of the world, and in survivals in modern superstitions. We will now refer briefly to other primitive forms of covenant-making, this being necessary to a thorough understanding of our subject :

(1) The Blood Covenant. A native Syrian describes the rite as practiced in a village at the base of Lebanon. The two friends who were to enter into covenant brotherhood went with their neighbors and relatives to an open space before the village fountain. There they publicly announced their purpose, and their declarations were written in duplicate, signed, and witnessed. Each of the friends opened a vein in the arm of the other, using the same lancet, and sucked the living blood through a quill. After each incision the blade was wiped on a covenant paper. They then declared, "We are brothers in a covenant made before God; who deceives the other, him will God deceive." Each record was placed in a case to be worn suspended about the neck or bound upon the arm. Thus each brother-friend possessed a token of the indissoluble relation sealed in the blood of his friend. The essential part of the ceremony is the communion of blood. The original rite has been variously modified. The blood of a common victim may be employed; and even some substitute for blood may be sufficient. The whole sacrificial system of all ages among all nations and tribes of people finds its explanation in the mingling of life and communion in blood.†

* Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, vol. iii, pp. 160-166; *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. i, p. 236; Hanns Oertel, in *The Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. ii, p. 151.

† Trumbull, *The Blood Covenant*, pp. 5, 6.

(2) The Threshold Covenant. The threshold was considered a most sacred spot. Here it probably was that the primitive altar was placed. The threshold itself may have been that altar. The guest who stepped over the blood across the threshold entered into covenant relation with the family; but to trample upon that blood was to proclaim himself an enemy, and to enter the house by any other way was to despise all covenant obligations. There is a widespread aversion, under certain circumstances, to stepping over the threshold. Offerings are frequently laid on the threshold and oblations poured upon it. Amulets and charms are buried beneath, or placed behind, the door. In many parts of the world the guest who has once crossed the threshold or but touched that sacred spot is safe, and his host will protect him even at the hazard of his own life. Those who flee to the house of God or the city of refuge come under the divine protection.

(3) The Token Covenant. Marvelous incidents of magic power, wisdom, and prowess are connected in story with heroes of supernatural birth. The youngest brother is always the greatest hero. It is he who rescues the older brothers from the power of the witch, dragon, or ogre. It is he who sets the captive princess free and thereby wins a wife and gains a throne. The brothers set out upon their adventures either together or in the order of their ages. Before they separate they agree upon life-tokens, so that if one of their number meet with danger the others will be informed as to his peril. A knife struck into a tree will fall to the ground, rust, or drop blood to indicate danger; a tree will wither; water in a bottle will become cloudy or turn to blood. It was the Hebrew practice, according to the Babylonian *Talmud*, to plant a cedar at the birth of a boy and a pine at the birth of a girl. The tree and the child grew up, flourished, and died together. The life-token was considered as an actual part of the body of the person himself, a part of the same substance which produced his supernatural birth, an article of his property to which his own life had been imparted, or some other object magically endowed with his life.

The life-token would suffer in proportion as he himself was hurt. The mysterious sympathy between the hero and an object external to

himself is not merely that, actually or by imagination, the life-token has been part of his substance ; but further that, notwithstanding severance, it is still in unapparent but real connection with him, and consequently any mischance he may suffer will be felt by the life-token and reflected in its condition. The converse also is true. Any portion, actual or imputed, of the hero's substance, detached from him in appearance, continues in effect so united to him that injury to it will redound to his injury and perhaps to his death.*

The life-token, by extension of meaning, becomes the token of fidelity, a witness to the faithful keeping of covenant obligations. In a modern Greek folksong an apple tree explains the cause of its withering :

They plighted a youth and a maiden beneath my shelter ;
They swore by my branches that they would cling together,
And now, because I know they part, my leaves are turning yellow.†

Abraham made a covenant with Abimelech, and planted a tamarisk as a witness or token of fidelity. The original belief that the token would suffer some change in order to indicate any breach of fidelity having been lost, it was reduced to a mere memorial.

(4) The Name Covenant. All primitive peoples seem to have closely connected, if not indeed confounded, the name with the person. It was frequently a condensed description of the character. With change of character, or some new revelation of character, a new name might be appropriately bestowed. Any person might be injured or killed by the magical use of his name. The possession of the secret name of a god would give the priest or exorcist power over that god. Great significance was attached to a change of name. In Babylonia and Assyria fearful curses were pronounced against any person who should dare to change or efface a name of good omen. Among certain tribes the words or parts of words which enter into the name of the chief or king are not used in conversation. An American Indian will not divulge his real name without the most grave consideration. A new name is frequently given when a child reaches the state of manhood or when an alien is adopted into the tribe. In the Bible a change of name is often connected with covenant-making.

* Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, vol. ii, p. 232.

† Rodd, *The Customs and Lore of Modern Greece*, p. 266.

There is a secrete and incommunicable name known only to him who receives it.*

(5) The Oath Covenant. This is most intimately related with the token covenant. Some object, animate or inanimate—the head, neck, beard, right hand, or some other part of the covenanting person, perhaps his life or his soul—is made a witness to the transaction. Sometimes a symbolic act is performed which, it is believed, by a sort of sympathetic magic is so closely connected with the performance of the covenant obligation that any failure in the faithful fulfillment of that obligation will inevitably work harm to the defaulting party to the extent of the curse invoked. When the oath is connected with a sacrifice the hand is laid upon the head of the victim, the altar, or the image of the god. Sometimes the hand is extended toward the object or deity by whom the oath is taken.† The passages of Scripture which these ancient covenants explain or illustrate are so numerous and so readily suggested that they need no special reference.

The blood covenant may be taken as the original type from which other primitive forms have been derived. Of equal antiquity, if Trumbull be followed, dating back to the life of the first human pair, is the threshold covenant.‡ If a person eats but the smallest morsel with another he is thereby bound to him in brotherhood. It is said, "There is salt between them." The brotherhood formed by eating together lasts as long as any portion of the "salt" or common food is supposed to remain in the bodies of the parties to the covenant; after this it must be renewed. The blood covenant is generally considered indissoluble. The covenant of salt is so considered in the Old Testament. It were the basest treachery to violate a covenant obligation (Psa. xli, 9; John xiii, 18). Since the worship of the temple has ceased the table of each Jewish family effects atonement for its members. The table is "before the Lord" (Exod. xviii, 12; Ezek. xli, 22).

* Appleyard, *The Kafir Language*, pp. 69, 70, Bourke, *Bureau of Ethnology*, vol. ix, pp. 461, 462; Dorman, *Origin of Primitive Superstitions*, pp. 153-156.

† Æschylus, *The Seven Against Thebes*, 530; Ammianus Marcellinus, XIV, xli, 21; Lucian, *Toxaris*, 38; Plautus, *Rudens*, V, iii, 45; Livy, xxi, 1; Thucydides, v, 47; Justin, xxiv, 2; Homer, *Iliad*, xix, 254; Pindar, *Olympian Odes*, vii, 65.

‡ For full discussion see Trumbull's *The Threshold Covenant*, Appendix, pp. 243, et seq.

This idea that the table is before the Lord, that the enjoyment of the gifts of God is to be seasoned with the salt of religion, has produced a custom still observed in orthodox Jewish circles. After he who presides at the table has pronounced the benediction, "Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who causeth bread to grow out of the earth," he breaks the bread, and, having dipped into salt as many pieces of it as there are participants of the meal, hands them around, when each table companion repeats the blessing in a low voice after him. Such is the table that is before the Lord.*

In the blood upon the altar and the salt upon the table God and his people renew their covenant; the flesh of the sacrificial victim and the bread furnish the communion feast by which this covenant is ratified.

8. We are now prepared to study those passages of the New Testament which contain the word "salt" used in a symbolic sense. For instance: "Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost its savor, wherewith shall it be salted? it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out and trodden under foot of men" (Matt. v, 13). "Salt therefore is good: but if even the salt have lost its savor, wherewith shall it be seasoned? It is fit neither for the land nor for the dunghill: men cast it out" (Luke xiv, 34, 35). "For every one shall be salted with fire. Salt is good: but if the salt have lost its saltness, wherewith will ye season it? Have salt in yourselves, and be at peace one with another" (Mark ix, 49, 50). After the first sentence the margin says, "Many ancient authorities add, *and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt*;" and this agrees with the Authorized Version. "Let your speech be always with grace, seasoned with salt, that ye may know how ye ought to answer each one" (Col. iv, 6).

Salt has become indispensable to civilized life. Even those quadrupeds which eat only vegetable food seek salt where there are natural sources of supply. Primitive man may not have been acquainted with its use. Certain savage tribes use no salt at the present day. It is valuable because it is not only healthful to the human constitution, but it also counteracts corruption. This is the explanation of the prominence of salt in the sacrificial ritual. In the New Testament usage we have the preserving power of salt; but we also have its connection with

* Dr. M. Jastrow, in the *Sunday School Times*.

sacrificing. "Ye are the salt of the earth," or of the great mass of humanity. Christians preserve the world from utter spiritual corruption. Christians also make it possible for the world to be brought again into communion with God. There are a multitude of passages in the New Testament which find their explanation in this survival of the sacrificial idea, as: "The sufferings of Christ abound unto us;" "partakers of Christ's sufferings;" "the fellowship of his sufferings;" "the afflictions of Christ in my flesh;" "joint-heirs with Christ; if so be that we suffer with him;" "crucified with Christ" (2 Cor. i, 5; 1 Pet. iv, 13; Phil. iii, 10; Col. i, 24; Rom. viii, 17; Gal. ii, 20). Upon the first of these passages Meyer says, "Everyone who suffers for the Gospel suffers the same in category as Christ suffered."* If, then, Christians, who are the conservative power in the world and the agency through which the world may again be brought into loving communion with God—if they become unfaithful to their destiny; if the "salt" lose its savor, its essential quality, how can they raise themselves again into the power and efficiency of their calling?

The passage in Luke presents no feature which calls for separate consideration, and we come to that in Mark. "And every sacrifice shall be salted with salt" is properly omitted in the Revised Version. It was probably introduced as a marginal gloss on the text, and thence crept into the text itself. It is omitted in four manuscripts of authority—two of the very first authority—and fifteen cursives, some of which are of considerable weight. Its retention in the text can hardly be justified. With this clause out of the way the chief difficulty in the interpretation disappears. We may now translate, "For everyone shall be salted for the fire," as "every disciple shall be prepared for the sacrifice."† We should be stern toward ourselves and deny ourselves lest we give offense to any weak child of God, having seduced ourselves into evil and become obnoxious to the punishment of Gehenna (Mark ix, 42-48). "The divine ordinance that every sacrifice is salted and made well-pleasing to God is fulfilled in the higher sense

* *Com., in loco.*

† So Baumgarten-Crusius, Linder, Edersheim, and others.

in this manner, that everyone is refined through the fire of tribulation, and thus made well-pleasing to God." *

"Salt is good: but if the salt," with which the spiritual sacrifice is to be salted for the fire, "have lost its savor, wherewith will ye season it?" Hence, "have salt in yourselves;" but do not let that salt be corrupted by making it an occasion of offense to others, as in the dispute by the way, or in the disposition of mind that led to it, or in forbidding others to work who follow not with you, but "be at peace among yourselves." †

The limits of a single article do not permit a more extended study of this part of the subject. We have found the "covenant of salt" and its survivals in both Old and New Testament usage; we have seen how wide the range of the symbolic use of salt among many nations in all parts of the world and down through the centuries even to the present time; and here, having pointed out treasure fields, we leave to others their more thorough explorations.

* Weiss, ed. Meyer.

† Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, vol. ii, p. 121.

J. N. Tradmburgh.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

THIS is Savonarola year, making four centuries since his martyrdom. The article in this number on "Savonarola and Rome," appearing at the end of this memorial year, will be found, we think, to be a clear addition to the literature with which the four hundredth anniversary has thus far been celebrated in reviews and magazines.

AN American scientist and educator, long familiar with European universities, and now just returned from two years' observation of them, reports that in the past twenty-five years the German universities have stood still, while American universities and colleges have made rapid advance. The thorough scholarship and complete facilities which formerly existed only in Europe can now be found in our own institutions.

IN a certain city is a pulpit long conspicuous for many things, and now at the zenith of notoriety for doctrinal innovations and the liberties it takes with traditional interpretations of Holy Writ. It has gone so far that the other ministers of that denomination in the same city have felt a necessity to free themselves from any suspicion of sympathy with it by issuing a public declaration that they must not be supposed to sanction such teachings. Among regular attendants, for the time being, on the ministry of that pulpit is a certain hard-headed business man of scrupulously clean and upright life, of good reasoning power and considerable reading, of reverent and religious spirit, and essentially a Christian. Listening to the teachings of the pulpit referred to, he has heard doctrines new to him, and various parts of Holy Scripture freely characterized as legendary. His opinion of the fairness and force of such biblical criticism was definitely and impressively indicated in the form of his comment on Admiral Dewey's achievement at Manila. Dis-

cussing with patriotic enthusiasm that enormous triumph, he exclaimed, "Why, if that story were in the Bible it would be called a legend. Some men would contend that it couldn't be true, and they'd try to prove it false scientifically by statistics of naval battles in general and the authority of experts, who would figure out such a one-sided result, in fair and open battle, between two fleets equally up to date and complete, to be impossible; and so they'd say they couldn't believe it."

His comment contains the adverse and sharply disapproving judgment of "the man on the street" upon the needless and unjustifiable disbelief expressed by skeptical criticism.

COMMON SENSE AND HYPERCRITICISM.

By common sense is here meant, not the crude and unenlightened incapacity manifest in the antiquated notions of ignorant multitudes, but the sound judgment of the intelligent and the judicious, of educated and experienced men, well informed, sober-minded, and wise. This shrewd sifting sagacity will have opinions on many subjects, testing and judging by general principles without minute technical knowledge of each specific subject. Over the specialist's shoulder leans the man of general education and trained intellect, attentive, eager to learn, meditative, fair-minded, convincing, but certain at the end to form his own independent judgment as to the validity and convincingness of it all. There is good reason for distrusting and declining to accept any conclusion which seems absurd or very doubtful to the roundabout common sense of the educated thinking world. Novel and sweeping conclusions from fragmentary data, wholesale demolitions of the founded and framed faith of centuries by some ambitious unproved theory, are invariably condemned by sound sense. Educated common sense often detects unsoundness without being able to point out precisely the mistake in the process, expose the flaw which enfeebles the argument, or locate the break in the cable which interrupts the continuity of rationality; and it rejects many special theories and affirmations by a wisdom distilled from the sum total of its knowledge. The Newark Conference heard this common sense speaking from the lips of Dr. J. T. Crane when he criticised a certain unsettling volume by saying: "It is one of those books which go along from chapter to chapter

plausibly enough in a casual reading, but when I get to the end and read the author's conclusion I know it isn't so."

The specialist, with his exhaustive technical knowledge, is indispensable in every department of research, and he must have unhindered liberty to investigate to the bottom. His business is to explore for facts and to report what he finds. Others not specialists can probably do better than he in adjusting his findings with existing theory and doctrine, or in harmonizing doctrines with any newly discovered and indisputable facts. The liability of the enthusiastic specialist, intoxicated with the exuberance of his own ingenuity, to be carried away into excesses of inference, prediction, announcement, is proverbial; twenty-five years ago an enthusiast in chemistry announced in our hearing that all the constituents of beef being ascertained by analysis it would soon be possible to manufacture beefsteak in the laboratory by combining the elements in proper proportion, but the secret of sirloin and tenderloin is still known only to the bioplasts which mysteriously build the tissues of ox and cow. Sometimes the specialist has a pet theory through which he looks at facts and sees them distorted; sometimes he offers his own speculations instead of scientific results; and then the comment of discerning and experienced common sense is, "This is guesswork; the man is pursuing truth, as it were, but pursuing it as a dog pursues his own tail."

No word of this is written to disparage the capable specialist—he is beyond question the most successful finder of facts, and mankind is indebted to his focused study and penetrating and exhaustive investigation for most of its knowledge; we only note certain liabilities to error and excess in order to show that the specialist's work needs to be supervised and supplemented by the inspection of broadly educated but unspecialized intelligence.

The impression made upon the educated mind by the excesses of hypercriticism in its treatment of secular history was indicated at the one thousandth anniversary of University College, Oxford, when Lord Sherbrooke, the chosen speaker of a great occasion, selected for his theme the iconoclasm of the New Historians, against which he protested, complaining that nothing is safe from their sacrilegious research, which seeks to resolve every tradition, however venerable and precious, into myth or fable; and, referring for illustration to a particular instance of special interest on the very spot where he spoke, he said: "For

example, we have always believed that certain lands which this college owns in Berkshire were given to it by King Alfred. Now the New Historians come and tell us this could not have been the case, because they can prove that the lands in question never belonged to the king. But it seems to me that the New Historians prove too much; indeed, they prove the very point which they contest. If the lands had really belonged to the king he would probably have kept them to himself, but as they belonged to some one else he made a handsome present of them to the college." This is quoted here because it breathes the disapproval which men of sober and conservative judgment often feel toward the unsettling work of suspicious specialists seeking to overturn with presumptuous innovation the presumptive knowledge of a thousand years; and because it fairly illustrates the inconclusiveness of some historical criticism, the facts used to substantiate new theories being often easily reversible for the support of the long-established beliefs. Lord Sherbrooke points out that, even supposing the facts to be as the New Historians claim to have found them, those facts do not surely support the iconoclastic inferences drawn therefrom, but may with equal force be used in favor of the traditional understanding. In the educated world at large there is little patience with the puerile antics of hypercriticism attempting to play tiddledywinks with accredited history, prying up and flipping away through the air the nailed-down facts on the pages of reputable records.

Even Mr. Huxley, taking note of the excesses of hypercriticism, regarded himself as far from being the most destructive skeptic of his time. As to himself, he claimed not to be as black as some men painted him. He felt himself unjustly treated by professional ecclesiastics, and protested against being called an atheist, a theomachist, or an enemy of religion—saying that he could stand being persecuted for what he did hold, but could not patiently endure being denounced for views which he did not hold. Conceding Balfour's *Foundations of Belief* to be a clever bit of polemic, he complained that it misrepresented the views of some whom it attacked; that, for example, the opinions which Balfour speaks of as "naturalism" are held by no human being. More and more as life advanced Professor Huxley, we are told, desired to have it noticed that he himself valued that side of his writings which is consistent with the

theistic view of life; and toward the last he frequently called attention to the significance and scope of the religious admissions of his own teachings. In conversation he eloquently defended the theistic argument from design, and referred to his volume of *Darwiniana*, where he had acknowledged in print that no evolution theory could disprove that argument or weaken its force. Like Gladstone, he was an admirer of Bishop Butler's *Analogy*, which some professedly Christian men follow William Pitt in disparaging. Huxley praised it warmly, and pronounced its reasoning invulnerable and conclusive as far as it professes to go. In an Oxford lecture he forcibly showed that the struggle for existence and survival of the fittest as represented in the scientific theories of cosmic evolution entirely fail to account for the ethical element in man. His friends tell us of his rooted and reverent faith in the great ethical ideals, of his confession that they could not be accounted for by any known laws or offered theories of evolution, of his evident feeling that they are more important and imperative than his philosophic theory of knowledge would logically warrant him in explicitly declaring, and, most noteworthy of all, of the practical homage which he habitually paid, in word and in deed, to the majestic authority of those sublime ideals. Some students of his writings think he really left more possible foundation for the Christian faith than is left by some undermining philosophers and some catalytic critics who claim the Christian name. And there are indications that, with all his critical temper, Mr. Huxley was of opinion that some historical critics, in their work upon records secular and records sacred, have overdone their business, exceeded reason and common sense, and made themselves ridiculous. This opinion was back of the shrewd irony of his remark when Wilfrid Ward showed him several different accounts of the Metaphysical Society and its doings, and pointed out a number of discrepancies between the accounts; Huxley said, "Don't find any more, or the German critics will prove that the society never existed"—a straight thrust at the irrational captiousness of destructive critics in German universities and of their disciples in Great Britain and America. There is reason to believe that Professor Huxley would have agreed that the Tipperary gentleman who said in his speech, "My fellow-countrymen, the round towers of Ireland have so completely disappeared that it is doubtful if they ever

existed," might have gained notoriety as a biblical critic if he had turned loose his keen wits and remarkable reasoning faculties on the Old Testament.

A CONGO CRITIC ON THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.

IN the space of a thousand years changes many and great may come to pass upon this rolling planet. A great man once said, "We have no way of judging of the future but by the past." In the past the seat of empire and dominant power has migrated from continent to continent. History makes it not inconceivable that by the end of a thousand years there may be a mighty civilization on the continent of Africa, while nations now comparable to the Roman empire for extent and dominion may decay and fall by neglect of the conditions which the Power that makes for righteousness has decreed for the survival of states, and Macaulay's New Zealander may be seen engaged in archaeological research among the ruins of spent empires and extinct republics.

In all soberness, supposing skepticism to be as rife and insistent a thousand years hence as now, and the historical critics of that time to be as smart and knowing as ours are to-day, what will the professor of ancient history in the great University of the Congo in 2898 A. D. probably do with such records as may then remain of our war with Spain waged in this intense, immense, and amazing summer, when the learned gentleman shall set his spectacles astride his nose to lecture on the history of the republic which flourished on the American continent ten centuries prior to his lecture?

He may easily remark in general by way of introduction that in all the literature of the nineteenth century one cannot find, even on the pages of avowed fiction, a story woven of wilder improbabilities than some parts of the professed history of the United States. He may observe that from the very beginning American histories teem with exaggerations; for instance, in their report that twice—once in the latter part of the eighteenth century and again in the early years of the nineteenth—they, being then but a young and feeble people, vanquished on sea and on land Great Britain, known as the mistress of the seas and an every way powerful nation. He will probably say that American records in somewhat later periods, as, for example,

in that of the civil war of 1861-65, are full of contradictions, the accounts of that conflict written in the northern parts being so full of direct contradictions of those written in southern parts that it is impossible to ascertain the facts of the case.

But he will particularly note that among human records ostensibly historic there are none quite so incredible as those of the Spanish-American War of 1898, except certain Hebrew records and certain Greek manuscripts several millenniums older containing accounts of various equally marvelous and unlikely events and portents. Turning to the first armed collision of the war he will examine that fore-castle yarn, invented, doubtless, by imaginative jackies idling around when their ships were drifting and dragging in the doldrums, about how an American commodore with only six vessels crept through the dawn of a dewy May morning into the fortified harbor of Manila, a harbor planted with mines, bordered with shore batteries, and held by thirteen Spanish ships of war; how this war god of the sea opened fire at five o'clock in the morning and fought a while before breakfast as if to whet his appetite, then desisted and coolly breakfasted his fleet in the hostile, bristling, and banging bay, and when he was ready, and felt the warlike mood come over him once more, resumed action and blazed away merrily until by 7:30 that same morning, as an impartial eyewitness, a retired French naval officer resident on the shore between Cavité and Manila is said to have testified, Spain had every one of her thirteen warships sunk, burned, or captured, a thousand of her men killed or wounded, her forts on shore all battered into silence, and property worth ten millions of dollars destroyed. The critic of history will also note in the same chapter another fore-castle yarn so monotonously similar as evidently to be written by the same romancer, who tells how another American fleet utterly destroyed a powerful Spanish fleet in West Indian waters, piling all its mighty ironclads one after another in a string, with incredible rapidity, on the rocks along the southern Cuban coast, killing hundreds of officers and sailors, and taking all survivors prisoners, so that not a ship or a man escaped.

The keen-eyed scholar will also point out numerous minor improbabilities in the records of this war; how unlikely, for example, that a war inaugurated for the simple purpose of driving the Spaniards out of Cuba, an island only seventy miles

from the American coast, would be begun and ended in the Philippines, twelve thousand miles distant from the United States, on the opposite side of the globe. Applying the law of probability to the records of our war, and happening on a description of that strange conglomeration of opposites known officially as the First Volunteer Cavalry, and popularly christened Roosevelt's Rough Riders, he may observe how contrary to all human likelihood it is that such a freak combination would voluntarily and of choice get together from widely separated sections—college prize men mixed with illiterate cowboys, grimy miners with dainty dudes, homeless tramps with sons of millionaires, malodorous ranchmen with perfumed dandies, the *jeunesse d'orée* of palatial homes and dazzling drawing rooms, bloody bandits and criminals dodging the sheriff with men of such superior character and eminent moral force as to be fit for cabinets, senates, and capitol; all these irreconcilables organizing into a mutual admiration society, rushing into each other's arms and falling on one another's neck to live together like brothers day and night for two years, to eat and sleep and march and dig and sweat and starve and fight and bleed and die and be buried side by side. The learned critic, familiar with the slow progress of the ascending ages, may remark that an overwhelming amount of evidence goes to show that the human race had not, in the nineteenth century, become such a happy family, so full of brotherly love, as such a heterogeneous, voluntary aggregation would imply. He may point out the mistake evidently involved in that part of the account which represents a certain general, named Joseph Wheeler, as having led part of the land forces of the United States in the storming and capture of Santiago; which account cannot be true inasmuch as General Joseph Wheeler is known beyond doubt to have been a deadly enemy of the American republic, so much so that he fought long and desperately to destroy it. The critic will regard as exceedingly improbable the story that at Santiago a force of thirteen thousand Americans fighting mostly in the open defeated, captured, and disarmed an intrenched force of twenty-seven thousand Spanish regulars, more than double their own number, fighting behind strong defenses, and from inside blockhouses and stone forts; a story which recalls that of the valiant Hibernian who boasted that, single-handed and alone, he captured five of the enemy, and when asked how he did it answered,

"I surrounded them." Dwelling further on the improbabilities which fill the American records, the Congo professor may inform his class that a learned Australian antiquarian mousing among ancient tomes has discovered a volume containing an estimate, made from official naval statistics by European authorities at the beginning of the Spanish-American war as to the comparative strength of the opposing navies. This estimate shows that, reckoning ship for ship, gun for gun, and man for man, the Spanish navy was on the whole superior to that of the United States, clearly outranking it among the navies of the world. In the face of such official statistics the whole story of uninterrupted and complete victory for the American navy over the Spanish is to the last degree improbable.

The acute historical critic will not fail to discover the many discrepancies which confuse and to his mind will discredit the history of this war; for example, at the outbreak of the war the Atlantic fleet of the United States is familiarly known and described as the White Squadron, while the fleet which sailed and fought in West Indian waters, and is represented as the same fleet, was dark gray; again, while much public ado was made at various times and places over the valor of the cavalry regiment called the Rough Riders in the land assault on Santiago, eyewitness accounts agree that no mounted troops were seen in the fighting there; again, while the vessels which blockaded Santiago harbor for many weeks are spoken of as Sampson's fleet, yet, in the fight which sunk Cervera's ships when they came out of the harbor, no one of that name had any share; a man called Commodore Schley is in command, with valiant captains under him named Cook, Philip, Evans, Taylor, and Clark, but no Sampson participating. In 2898 A. D. some critic may express his opinion that Schley was but another fabulous and ferocious sea monster like Dewey, or that Sampson was a mythical character no more historic and real than the more ancient Samson, whose story is found in the writings of the early Hebrews. If the professor shall indicate his adverse opinion by saying that the two accounts of the two Sampsons are probably about equally trustworthy he will be a better supporter of both records than he intends to be or is conscious of being.

Although not exactly in logical connection here, it seems not impossible that the venerable, dark-skinned professor in the

University of the Congo, unconsciously biased by something in his own nature and moved by racial pride, may dwell a trifle fondly on the large, manly, and heroic part reported to have been played at El Caney and San Juan Hill, and elsewhere in the reduction of Santiago, by four regiments of black men; and he may conceivably cherish the opinion that no part of the record of that war is more trustworthy than the account of the saving of the famous Rough Riders from annihilation in a Spanish ambush by a colored regiment which came to their rescue, charged in two directions at once on the Spaniards, and sent them flying right and left in tumultuous confusion; an early instance, the professor may complacently remark, of the African protecting the Saxon.

Attempting to explain how such incredible stories came to be written as history, he may say that they are partly attributable to the inordinate boastfulness of the Americans, who were regarded by contemporary nations as offensive and unconscionable braggarts, vaingloriously bent on making their own country seem the greatest, their countrymen seem invincible, and other nations to be as the small dust of the balance in comparison. In illustration he may cite certain records which tell how tall the American soldiers were, hundreds of them six feet high or over, many of them trained athletes and physical champions, so that the Spaniards wondered at their size and strength, and felt themselves to be as grasshoppers before them. He may instance the boastful statement that an American gunner killed more Spaniards with one shot off Santiago than the whole Spanish navy killed of the Americans in all the naval conflicts of the war; and the sweeping assertion that from beginning to end of the war, which wrested from Spain her colonies and swept her navy from the seas, no fleet or army of the United States experienced a single reverse, or so much of failure as would make one bad half hour. He will say that a good deal of this stuff must be pure braggadocio, that it is noticeable that these self-glorifying stories absurdly exaggerating the victories of the Americans are written by themselves, and are no more to be accepted than those very old accounts which the Israelites, who fancied themselves a chosen people especially favored of God, wrote concerning their own amazing and incredible victories over their enemies, explaining their unbelievable successes by alleging a special divine intervention on their behalf, using

such words as these: "If it had not been the Lord who was on our side when men rose up against us, then they had swallowed us up quick." As did the Israelites, so did the Americans; telling astounding stories of overwhelming triumphs over their enemies, and then playing upon superstitious minds by explaining that the Lord was on their side, and dividing the credit between their own valor and God's miraculous aid. In the vanity of their self-conceit, in vainglorious boastfulness, and in the notion of being exceptional objects of divine favor, the professor may say, the Americans seem to have been not unlike the Israelites; and the accounts which the two peoples give of themselves are probably about equally untrustworthy.

The critic may especially point out that the most remarkable and invariable feature of all American accounts of the naval battles of the war of 1898 is that the historians allow nobody on their side to get hurt. All damage passes the Americans by and lights on the Spaniards. In the awful carnival of wholesale slaughter and swift destruction at Manila, where the Americans had six ships against thirteen, they relate that they had not one ship noticeably injured, not one man killed, not so much as a single gun dismounted or disabled. This prodigious miracle was achieved under command of a demigod called Dewey, who came from far-off mountains, among which he was born, a sort of inland Mars who chose the sea for his playground.

Again in the flying fight off Santiago the American storytellers allow the formidable Spanish fleet to do no damage; they report not one American vessel crippled or seriously harmed, and no lives lost except that one man had his head shot off, probably because he did not wear the magical helmet which must have been part of the regulation uniform that made American sailors invulnerable if not invisible. And the gay and frolicsome fancy of the Yankee romancers gives a finishing touch to the highly colored tale of Santiago by picturing a private gentleman's pleasure yacht, unarmored and almost unarmed, fragile as an eggshell before the Spanish armament, venturing headlong into the awful *mêlée*, darting like a dragonfly at two most formidable destroyers, engaging one of them at close quarters and piercing it so with her little guns that in a few minutes she sent it gurgling to the bottom, she herself, of course, coming out uninjured, as the consistent chronicler invariably relates, true to his patriotic habit of telling the biggest

possible lie for the glory of his country. An air of legend atmospheres the story of this war, and imagination burns its multicolored lights on every page. Miraculous victories, warriors invincible, ships and sailors invulnerable, holding a charmed life—these are the familiar paraphernalia and stage properties of legend and myth.

Will anyone say that it is inconceivable or improbable that some knowing historian, a thousand years hence, may make comments resembling those which we have suggested? And is it not possible that whoever shall feel it his duty to contend against the skeptical critics of 2898 A. D. will have no easy task? Will he not be obliged to admit that the professed history does tax faith almost to the breaking point, that some of it does seem highly improbable and nearly incredible? It will cost him no little labor to show that nevertheless there is good reason to trust the records, which on the whole are consistent with themselves and bear evidence of having been written in or near the time of the events by persons in a position to know the facts; and he may not be able to silence the iconoclastic historical critics unless some archæologist burrowing in the Iberian Peninsula or elsewhere shall unearth and decipher some Spanish or other long-lost records containing confirmation strong as Holy Writ of the story which the Americans wrote about their war and its improbable and astounding victories. The archæologist is frequently a useful citizen.

Far be it from us to cast reproach or attempt to put restraint upon the most searching critical scholarship in its testing of the trustworthiness of all records for the purpose of distinguishing between truth and fiction. We have only taken advantage of an opportunity to illustrate from familiar current history how possible it is for records, teeming with discrepancies and loaded with improbabilities, to be nevertheless true. The methods used to discredit Scripture history would equally discredit much other history, modern as well as ancient; and one is not a credulous fool who holds fast to his faith in the historicity of Christianity as written in the Old and New Testaments against the doubts and denials of skeptical critics; but he is a sad and shallow simpleton who gives up his faith in the Bible because critics say that it contains things inexplicable, discrepancies irreconcilable, improbabilities great and marvelous which they consider impossible.

THE ARENA.**"A NEW DEPARTURE PROPOSED."**

In the *Review* of May Dr. Leonard proposed and discussed the above theme in his usually impressive manner. He raises a vital question for the consideration of the Church which it is hoped will not be cast lightly aside. A Rubicon in Church campaigns has at length been reached. It must be crossed, or the column turned backward. Let the leaders think and act wisely.

Dr. Leonard makes two propositions and discusses the relative value of each, for the purpose of bringing the Church to see clearly the great issues involved. It does not take long to see which of the two is correct and should determine the action of the Church. Every member should be interested, for certainly a responsibility rests on each according to his ability. That there has been great negligence upon the part of many of the members of the Church toward the Missionary Society there can be no doubt. That a Church with such a large membership, possessing such great wealth, and living in such ease and affluence fails to raise a million and half of dollars annually should make the cheek of every Methodist tingle with shame for the want of a more benevolent spirit. When it was discovered that the treasury was in debt and a request went out from the office that offerings should be sent in for its liquidation not more than a month should have been required to accomplish the entire work. It should have been done as a means of grace, and the Church would have been greatly benefited.

Can there be any reasonable doubt as to the correctness of the second proposition? Is it reasonable to suppose that intelligent Christians would have shut up in their souls for years the conviction that they should preach the Gospel to the heathen if God had not created that inwrought conviction? Easier by far to doubt the call of thousands of pastors at home. Fruit is generally taken as a proof of a divine call to a specified work. Judged by this rule, what will be the result? Are there not many unordained women in India or China who add more stars to the Saviour's crown than many popular pastors in America? Can we reasonably doubt the divine call of such a person? If we repudiate such proof as this let us discard all thought of a divine call, and let each rush to the field as he may think best, as did Nadab and Abihu. Is it not true that the great increase in our Church membership to-day comes from our missionary fields and from the circuits and outlying stations in our own country? Is it not also true that large churches are sustained more by reception of letters than by conversion? Why then should not the larger churches help by their gifts to sustain in a liberal manner those who are toiling in the sparsely settled fields? Who can reasonably doubt

that if the Church were to adopt the methods of the "Church Missionary Society," and send all who are divinely called, God would also arouse the Church to the duty and privilege of giving, and that the treasury of the Church would be overflowing? Is it not true that in the past the authorities of the Church have in effect said, "We have no confidence in God's influencing the giving of money, and we will not send missionaries till we have the money in sight?" According to their faith it has been unto them. May we not expect it will be so unto the end? If this doubting continues too long God will set us aside and call some more trusting agent into the field, as has been his plan all along the centuries.

On page 423 Dr. Leonard comes to the positive and practical part of the "departure," and proposes that if the plan is adopted and if the money does not come in to meet the claims of the missionaries the salaries "shall be scaled down on a per cent, the scaling down to apply to all employees of the Missionary Society, including missionary bishops and secretaries." He thinks that the heroic spirit of the poor missionary would accept such a scaling down without a murmur. No doubt of it. But why stop at the "scaling down" of the salary of the poor missionary who lives where every bite of bread and every bed on which he sleeps must be paid for in money, having no friend to give him a donation to help out, as at home? Why simply scale down on the missionary bishop who lives far away from home and kindred and on the secretaries who are called to that office? Why not also include every salaried man and woman in the Church—bishops, agents, secretaries, editors, presiding elders, and pastors? The end would then be accomplished in short order. This plan of scaling down would accomplish much more than the other. It would arouse many as they have never been aroused, and a scaling up would soon be the order. What can be the reasonable objection to this plan? Why not let the burdens be on the many and not on the few—on the strong men at home, as well as on the few who are absent from country, Church, and home?

But the "new departure proposed" does not go far enough. The Church has depended in the past on raising her money by spasmodic giving, when on some appointed day a bishop, agent, editor, or pastor has called upon the people to give to the cause of missions. Sometimes the great motive has been to give more than the previous year, or more than some other church. What proportion of any congregation has been induced to give on those conditions? Who says one tenth? And were the motives such as God could bless? Why not have the widow with her mite, as well as the rich with his larger gifts, bring an offering to the treasury of the Lord because of the love for the work? May not the Church learn a very profitable lesson from the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society as to the manner and spirit of giving? That Society started without a dollar in the treasury. They asked each woman to give two pennies a week and a prayer, and to do this regularly from principle, laying away the amount weekly at her home where none but God saw it.

As a result they have gone on increasing their gifts and enlarging their fields of work, and have not had a year in which they have not closed up with a balance in the treasury. Now let the Church take a "new departure," and organize each class on a frontier circuit or in a station into a missionary society, asking the members to give a small amount regularly and devoutly because of the love of God and a desire for the salvation of the world. This will not prevent the rich from giving of their abundance, but it will cause them to give from a higher and holier motive. Does anyone say this could not be done?

The advantage of this system would be that it would throw the cause of missions on the heart of every member, and he would be thinking and praying about it weekly. If he did not give he would have the fact before him that he was alone retarding the onward cause of God while all the rest of his brethren were giving systematically for its advancement. This fact of itself would be a powerful stimulus to action. By this method high pressure and unseemly collections would be dispensed with, and all would move on smoothly and religiously. Of old God spoke to Moses and commanded him to speak to the people that they go forward. Moses spoke, and the people moved. Let every Moses of the Church speak now, and all will move forward and the waters of difficulty will part, if God and men have not changed. By this method we would have a Church praying as well as giving. Who says God does not desire the prayers of his people more than the money? He possesses the gold of the earth now, but he is asking for the prayers of his people, sometimes only to be disappointed. Such a system would make a devout Church, full of prayer and increasing faith. The religious power of the Church at home would be wonderfully increased, religious awakenings would follow each other, and the day of the Lord would begin to dawn on the earth.

This is the kind and quality of a "new departure" I would like to see inaugurated—one that would take hold of every man, woman, and child in the entire Church at home as well as abroad. Is not God testing his people by the many losses and failures? Millions of money in the Church, and yet we have been so long about raising a small debt of \$200,000! Many of our own churches are in debt, and other people are suffering for the want of churches, while plenty of money is in the community. Pastors are not paid their small salaries, and the old superannuate and widow are being pinched in the evening of their lives. Let the Church go to her knees, acknowledge her shortcomings, bring the tithes regularly into the house of God, and see if God will not pour out such a blessing as shall make all hearts glad. We have gone long enough in the present course to find out that something is wrong. Having the largest debt in our history, while our riches have greatly increased, we yet have found great difficulty in freeing ourselves of this burdensome discredit. Let us have "a new departure," start out anew to give regularly and religiously, and see if God will not bless us most abundantly.

St. Louis, Mo.

T. H. HAGERTY.

THE POSTCAPTIVE LIFE OF ST. PAUL.

ONE parts with the multitude of Bible characters hungry for further details when they are hurriedly dismissed with only a synoptical sketch. How refreshing would be a full biographical library made up from the daily diaries of Adam, Methuselah, Noah, and David! Yet no one save the recording angel possesses the records, and these will only be revealed in eternity.

But no brief outline creates a desire for more facts than the life of St. Paul. Luke abruptly closes the Acts by saying: "Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house." What can we learn of his subsequent life? He was a prisoner at Rome on an appeal to Nero, the reigning Cæsar. The trial must have the presence of the rescript of the accusers and of witnesses. Traveling was tedious; Nero could delay the trial at will, and hence the two years' waiting. Paul's treatment was the mildest consistent with a capital charge, yet it involved a constant chain. Besides preaching daily sermons he wrote epistles to Philemon, the Colossians, the Ephesians, and the Philippians. These were mostly written to guard against certain growing heresies, as those of the Judaizers and the Marcionites. When Octavia, wife of the monster Nero, was divorced and murdered and the adulterous Poppæa, a Jewess proselyte, became his wife, she would be a dangerous factor against Paul. Nevertheless, at the hearing after two years he was acquitted.

It had been a lifelong plan of Paul to carry the Gospel into Spain (Rom. xv, 24, 28). Clement, who was a convert of Paul and afterward Bishop of Rome, says: "Paul preached east and west and reached the confines of the west." This signified in 170 A. D., with precision, Spain. Muratori's *Annals*, an authentic paper, affirms that "Luke relates many things, but omits one fact, the journey of Paul from Rome to Spain." The reliable Jerome affirms, "Paul was acquitted by Nero, and went to preach in the west [Spain]." Eusebius confirms the same statement. These fathers and historians are worthy of credence, and make it fairly certain that Paul traveled in Spain. Besides these facts there were later many traditions in regard to Paul which were sheer inventions of the monks.

In addition to Spain we gather from Titus and 2 Timothy that he must have visited Macedonia, Crete, Miletus, Ephesus, Nicopolis, and other places. In fact, the style and tone of these final epistles which exhibited the condition of the churches and the stage of growing heresies all casually require these premised travels. From Titus iii, 12, we learn his plan to winter at Nicopolis. Our reasonable conclusion is that at this place, about two years after his acquittal from the first imprisonment, he was again arrested and carried to Rome. Thereupon he writes 2 Timothy, his latest production; and from its tone we may reasonably infer such conclusions as that his former friends nearly all forsook him and fled, that this imprisonment was more rigid than the

former, and that he had a presentiment of an early martyrdom. Rome had been devoured by flames which were kindled, as the public surmised, by the secret command of the emperor Nero; and that monster, in order to divert the suspicion of the people from himself, accused Christians of the deed. Tacitus relates the very horrible death cruelties upon Christians under this charge.

It was now that Paul as a leader was brought to a second trial. In 2 Tim. iv, 14, he names Alexander as his accuser. Roman courts had degenerated under Nero. It was no longer an appellate court with the emperor presiding, but a single prefect—the emperor's tool and appointee—was Paul's judge. Custom made a hearing and decision on each charge separately. Paul records his first hearing in 2 Tim. iv, 16, 17, from which it would appear that no advocate dared to appear in his cause; that in the basilica where he pleaded for himself a multitude heard him; and that on this first charge he was acquitted, but held on the other charges which he expected would result in martyrdom. It was then he wrote his last message of victory, "I have fought a good fight." Being a Roman citizen he had one poor boon, for he was exempt from the stake and scourgings; and he died by the lictor's sword, the military method. This probably occurred about the first of June, 68, for Nero died, or rather committed suicide, June 11. Outside the gates of Rome on the Ostian Way, the mausoleum of Caius Cestius, the Westminster Abbey of ancient Protestantism, was probably the last resting place of St. Paul. Such is the testimony of Eusebius, Jerome, Caius, Tertullian, and others.

J. B. ROBINSON.

Rockford, Ill.

CHURCH MUSIC.

THIS subject troubles preachers, music committees, choirs, and all lovers of good singing. What can be done to make our singing more popular and profitable at the same time? Dr. Hatfield's article, in the May-June *Review*, answers the question to a great extent, but the people do not read the *Review*. I wish we could get the article before the Methodist public. Dr. Goodwin's article, in the July-August *Review*, would put the hymnal on a level with the chorus books, something we do not want. The *Epworth Hymnal* was a noted attempt at compiling a hymnal and choruses, and it was not a success. If we must sing choruses let them be published in the "*Gems and Charms and Shouts*." Some of our best and most popular hymns have been utterly degraded by amateur chorus-makers. We want to redeem "Alas! and did my Saviour bleed," "Amazing grace! how sweet the sound," and some other of our grand old hymns from jingling, senseless choruses. Our hymn book has hundreds of most "singable tunes," and we ought to teach them to the children and thus create a taste for good, stately Church music. Get the children's ears and hearts filled with good music, and there will be no room for the ditties they now learn to sing

in the Sunday school. Let them learn to sing out of our *Hymnal*, and then they can help with glad voices to increase the volume of song in the Church service.

If the next General Conference appoints a committee to revise our *Hymnal* I hope it will be wise enough not to displace our "grand old hymns" with light choruses. Let the "stateliness and cathedral solemnity" of our music alone. It might be well to expunge some hymns and replace some tunes with better music, if possible. But have we a Lowell Mason or Bacchus Dykes who is capable of displacing the unsingable tunes with music suited to Methodist hymns? It would be a good plan for choristers to teach the people to sing more of the hymns with particular meter. In those they will find some of our best hymns and music. At all events let us keep our singing up to a high standard.

Americus, Kan.

C. R. RICE.

"A HIGHER RECONCILING TRUTH."

OPTIMISM or pessimism—which is the truth? Subjective conditions, environment, limited range of vision too often determine our position here. Frederick W. Robertson in one of his discourses gives utterance to this most pregnant thought: "All high truth is the union of two contradictories. Predestination and free will are opposites; the truth does not lie between these two, but in a higher reconciling truth which leaves both true." There is glorious truth in optimism, of course; but there is also sad truth in pessimism.

We may take for our illustration the action of the waves upon the sea-shore. We see the advancing breaker, high and majestic, with its snowy crest; we have a vision of progress—optimism. But now, with a deep moan, it breaks upon the shore, retreats in confusion—most pathetic rout; we have all felt the undertow, when everything seemed to be going backward; here, also, is pessimism. But at the same time we may know that the tide is rising; and here is real progress. Is not this the truth of history? The wave of the Reformation rolled high and wide; then came spiritual decline. Another wave of spirituality—Mysticism; another decline. Spenser calls back to the old spirituality, or rather calls to Pietism; reaction—Rationalism. Presently our own Wesley comes, and Methodism. What a revival wave was that! But a solemn inquiry is, has it spent its revival force? Is there reaction? What of Rationalism to-day? What of the higher criticism? What of ritualism and formalism?

Thank God for a large faith in the steady rise of this surging, struggling mass we call humanity toward the eternally good and true. But while we toss to and fro upon "this bank and shoal of time," grappling with many problems, it might be well to inquire at least, Where are we now?

JETHRO BOYCE COLEMAN.

Loag, Pa.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

A SIGNIFICANT TEXTUAL EMENDATION.

PERHAPS among all the changes of the late revision of the New Testament none is more striking and richer in food for reflection than that of Rev. xxii, 14. The King James version reads, "Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city." The version of 1881 reads, "Blessed are they that wash their robes, that they may have the right to come to the tree of life, and may enter in by the gates into the city." The authority for the change is so strong there is no question that "wash their robes" should be substituted for "do his commandments." The ordinary reading would have been in harmony with the teaching of the Gospel, because works are the fruits of faith, but textual criticism has clearly shown that the former is the true text.

The form in the Revised Version is adopted by nearly all the modern critical editions of the Greek text—Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Alford, Westcott and Hort. It is found in the Alexandrian and Sinaitic manuscripts, some of the cursives, and also in the Vulgate, Armenian, and Ethiopic versions. The recent revisers, while not aiming to form a text, have accepted the rendering "wash their robes," without any marginal notes of possible variation. The Clementine Vulgate adds, "in the blood of the lamb."* It is true that the text as it now stands, "do his commandments," is not without manuscript attestation, although not found in the greatest uncials. The Vatican has been quoted in its favor, but B is defective in the Apocalypse, and hence cannot afford us its valuable testimony; but 91, which Tregelles says is a "modern supplement" to the Codex Vaticanus, "B," employs "do his commandments." Some Eastern versions favor the old text. Cyprian, of the third century, whose writings have had great authority, also quotes the text as found in the King James version. With all the critical data before them, those best qualified to judge have thus with great unanimity rejected the familiar reading, and have substituted "Blessed are they that wash their robes." Commentators, such as Wordsworth and Düsterdieck, have adhered to the old reading, but future expositors will, we believe, base their interpretations upon the Revised Version of 1881.

This text is very striking, as coming so near the close of the apocalyptic vision. How similar in form to that other passage, Rev. vii, 14, "These are they which came out of the great tribulation, and they washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." What a striking proof of the hold which the idea of salvation through the blood of Christ had upon the Church is this incidental correction of

* See Tregelles's *Greek New Testament* on Rev. xxii, 14.

an important text! Our works are to be the standard of judgment, but not the condition of salvation. "That they may have the right to come to the tree of life, and may enter in by the gates into the city," is predicated of those who "wash their robes."

This text also illustrates very forcibly the harmonies of divine revelation. That a series of books at different times and by authors of diverse mental characteristics should preserve such uniformity that even the imagery of the Apocalypse vividly expresses it is a proof of the influence of the Holy Spirit upon the intellects and hearts of the various authors, to prevent their departure from the great truths of the Gospel.

The question of the relation of works to faith is foreign to this discussion. Neither can be excluded from any exhaustive attempt to understand the sacred Scriptures. It remains as an established truth that the salvation of the soul is secured by faith in the atonement of Christ. This doctrine, so fundamental to evangelical Christianity, is asserted with great force in the text whose restoration is now accepted. The harmony of this teaching with the Pauline system of doctrine is clearly manifest, and is no insignificant proof of the inspiration of this book.

A careful and critical writer has noticed the tense of the verb "wash." It is in the present tense, "Blessed are they that keep washing their robes," and represents a continuous act, showing the necessity of a constant faith, a perpetual washing, lest the soul be defiled by the contact with a sinful world. This also brings to our notice a harmony between this passage and a very important one in 1 John i, 7: "But if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin." Here again we observe the tense of the verb "cleanseth." It is a present tense, and means "keep cleansing"—a constant influence of the blood of Christ. It seems to the writer that henceforth this passage will be recognized by the preacher as one of the richest texts on the cleansing power of Christ's atonement.

THE TESTS OF A SUCCESSFUL MINISTRY.

EVERY work in which men engage should be able to bear tests both scientific and practical. It is not sufficient that one perform his duties in accordance with the recognized principles of his profession. The results of his labors should be in harmony with the noblest ideals. Yet it would not be safe to judge merely by results, as these may sometimes be accomplished by unworthy means. There must be a scientific character to one's method to secure the highest success. We may begin, therefore, with the tests of a successful ministry.

It must have a proper purpose. The aim of the minister is, primarily, to save men, and, having saved them, to build them up in the faith. There may be other results accomplished by the minister which are incidental to his work and almost necessary. The advancement of educa-

tion, the betterment of the condition of the people in economic aspects, the improvement of social life, are consequences of the primary purpose of the ministry, and a true ministry cannot exist in its best form without these results.

Another test of a successful ministry is the means employed to accomplish the result, namely, preaching and pastoral labor. Under these general specifications there may be a number of subdivisions, but all are included in these two. The minister of the Gospel is a preacher and a pastor. As a preacher he must be faithful to Christian truth, since truth is the most sacred thing in the world and Christian truth the instrument of the Christian ministry. He will not for the sake of popularity speak anything which he does not believe, and will refuse to employ any truth which has not borne the test of careful and reverent thought and met the approval of his intellect and heart.

It is further important that the purpose of the preacher shall be accomplished in the best form. While it is conceded that the realization of the result is fundamental, one must take into consideration the means by which it is accomplished. The vehicle for the conveyance of truth is thought and language. No one can do his best thinking without the training of the intellect, both in ability to execute its work and in the use of the material which it employs. Hence scholarly preparation and literary form must not be overlooked when we are considering the tests of an effective ministry. He who would do the best things should do them in the best way. There are parts of every community where words that are rude may be as effective as those that are wisely chosen, but even the illiterate as a rule prefer strength of thought and choiceness of expression. We cannot omit, then, from our estimate of a successful ministry the claim that it must accomplish its results by such means as approve themselves to the most thoughtful people, as well as to those who are the most pious.

The highest test of ministerial efficiency is the result that it produces. "By their fruits ye shall know them." The souls that are saved through a ministry and the influences that are exerted will be fundamental tests by which the successful minister shall be judged. "He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him." In the great and final day when the Gospel heralds shall be called to give account of their stewardship before God all other tests will be centered in this: "What have you done for the souls committed to your charge?"

There is a further test of ministerial success which may be considered but should not be pressed, namely, the influence of the preacher on public affairs. He is primarily a man of one work. His business is to save men, and yet there are clergymen who by their relations to public life are able in their capacity as ministers of the Gospel to render great service to humanity. In the time of our civil war it will be remembered by many that Henry Ward Beecher, the eloquent orator and preacher,

rendered great service to his country in disarming the prejudices of the English people. At the same time Dr. John McClintock, then pastor of the American Chapel at Paris, rendered efficient service there which was recognized by the country and especially by President Lincoln. Sometimes in the current life of people at home a minister may be the means of great influence. When, however, he steps out of his chosen field it should be done with great care and in subordination of his fundamental work. As a general rule it may be said that the minister's public influence is most effectively employed by the silent effects of his example and general teaching. It is possible to gain high esteem in the public estimation by those who keep close to their special spiritual functions.

These remarks are intended to call attention to the recent death of Rev. Dr. John Hall, pastor of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York city. Perhaps no man of our time has met all the requirements of a successful ministry more completely than he. Every point which has been indicated above found its illustration in this distinguished minister. He would not have claimed for himself, nor would his friends claim for him, that he was a remarkable scholar, a brilliant genius, or a marvelous pulpit orator. Nevertheless, he combined so many high qualities as to lead all who knew him to recognize him as in the front rank of the American pulpit. Back of all his acquisitions and tastes and position there was that sterling, solid character without which all other qualities are practically useless. He never mingled in public affairs except those of the Church. He never resorted to any abnormal methods for gaining attention or holding his congregation. His life was that of a straightforward, honest, cultivated, faithful man who simply did his work and left the results to God. He affords a fitting illustration to young ministers of what is possible to everyone, in greater or less degree, who does his duty. His death fitly illustrates the honor which mankind pays to one who has been simply a preacher and pastor. It is true he occupied a great church, but other men have occupied great churches and left no such impression on the community as he. It is sometimes thought that pastors have no recognition in public estimation. Dr. Hall is an exception to this, and has shown us that the minister who does noble work receives the plaudits of the community. The public press recorded his death as a loss to the city and the country, and in many parts of our land, where he had never been seen, tributes were paid to this honored preacher. A prominent New York pastor said that the death of Dr. Hall was "a matter of national and international importance." All denominations of Christians realized that in his death they too had suffered loss.

What a tribute is this to the dignity of a true pastor's life! Goodness and greatness, combined in any sphere, and especially in that of the minister of the Gospel, cannot fail to accomplish blessings for the world and receive fitting recognition at the hands of the community he has so faithfully served.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.**NEW TESTAMENT CRITICISM.**

DURING the past quarter of a century Old Testament criticism has attracted much more attention on this side of the water than questions pertaining to the New. The battle regarding the authorship and authenticity of the gospels and epistles was waged in the early part of our century, and the evangelical or conservative wing was left in possession of the field. Since that time the forces have been gathered around the Old Testament, and the destructive critics have concentrated their attacks against its several books. Their efforts against Moses, David, and Isaiah have not been crowned with greater success than those of their predecessors against the evangelists and the apostles. Their forces have come to a standstill. And, if we read the signs of the times correctly, they are preparing for a graceful retreat. The extreme views of Wellhausen and Cheyne are everywhere being discounted. While many theological professors are arrayed on the liberal side, the rank and file of ministers and pastors hold with great tenacity to the more orthodox views, having found that the higher critics' Gospel is not calculated to bring the unconverted into active sympathy with the Nazarene.

There are, however, many in this country who are extremely liberal in their views of Old Testament criticism, while comparatively conservative on all questions pertaining to the New Testament. It has often puzzled us to see men who believed in the divinity of the Saviour and in the miracles recorded in the New Testament, men who accepted the inspiration of the gospels and epistles, but who at the same time all but rejected the supernatural element in the Old Testament, reducing its several books to the level of the sacred literature of other religions. If one can believe in the miracles performed by Christ and his disciples it is difficult to understand why he should call the mighty works done by Moses, Elijah, and others under the old dispensation the poetic creations of oriental minds, and so rob all Old Testament literature recording the miraculous of its historical character.

Rationalists and neocritics of the Strauss and Renan schools very consistently reject the supernatural element in both the Old and the New Testaments. To these Christ was either a myth or a fanciful creation and the gospels and the epistles are so many pious books written by the zealous adherents of the several sects. The words of Strauss are well known. He said: "Orthodox exegesis started with the twofold assumption that the gospels contained firstly history and secondly supernatural history; then rationalism rejected the second of these assumptions only to cling the more firmly to the first—that these books had in them pure, though natural, history. Science cannot stop thus half way,

but the first assumption also must be dropped and the question examined whether and how far we stand in the gospels on historical grounds." These bold statements discount the Gospel narratives to such an extent as to make them purely unhistorical, mere myths, invented by loving and admiring, though deluded, friends some thirty years after the death of our Saviour. Strauss went farther than all his predecessors who had been satisfied with seeing few legends and myths here and there in the four gospels. To use the words of Pfleiderer, he applied "the principle of myth to the whole extent of the story of the life of Jesus, to find mythical narratives, or at least embellishments, scattered throughout all its parts." We all know what harm the writings of Strauss did to the common people of Germany, and how they helped to alienate the masses from the Church in the Fatherland. And yet he, like many a destructive critic of less repute, had no idea of harming the Church or of bringing the cause of Christ into disrepute. He tells us in the Preface to his *Life of Jesus* that he wrote "in the assured conviction that none of these things harm the Christian faith." How passing strange that the author of *Leben Jesu* could write, "Christ's supernatural birth, his miracles, his resurrection and ascension remain eternal truths, however much their reality as historic facts may be called in question."

The ordinary mind cannot reconcile these apparently contradictory statements. There seems to be about them some metaphysical feat or philosophical legerdemain not easily understood by the average intellect, just as in our day there are those who deprive the Bible of almost everything inspired and supernatural, and yet stoutly maintain that they are the friends of the Bible and revealed religion. This is especially true of many Old Testament critics. Professor Robertson in speaking of this class well remarks: "Such scholars would do an invaluable service to the Church at the present time if they would explain in this connection what they mean by inspiration and define wherein their position differs from that of critics who profess no such reverence for the Old Testament. . . . It seems to me vain to talk of inspiration and authority of books till we are sure that they are credible and honest compositions, giving us a firm historical basis on which to rest." Too many Christian scholars have adopted the conclusions of the ultra-neocritics, who have no sympathy with the processes of reasoning leading up to their deductions. There are those who have one canon of criticism for the Old Testament and another for the New. So it turns out that one is ultra-radical on the Pentateuch and Isaiah and conservative on New Testament criticism.

Wellhausen's theories regarding the Old Testament are well known, but not so well his strictures upon the New. One has, however, only to read his *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte* in order to see that the learned Göttingen professor fails to discover anything superhuman in Jesus Christ. He explains the term "Son of man" as merely another expression for man, or what the Germans call "*Mensch*." We are informed that our Saviour had no thought of replacing the Jewish Church by

Christianity. He denies Christ's resurrection, and claims that the gospels do not present this doctrine as a well-authenticated fact.

Take another leader among the German critics, Professor Herrmann, of Marburg, perhaps the leading exponent of the Ritschlian doctrines in our day. Not long ago this great theological teacher stated in an address that we must change our views all along the line, not simply in regard to the Bible, but also in regard to Christ himself. If correctly quoted—and there is no reason for doubting this—he said, “It is impossible for us to think of Jesus as highly as men once did.” Such a statement attracted great attention at the time. It is indeed refreshing to hear the following comment from Professor Harnack, who is growing more conservative as the years roll on. He says, “There is no category, be it reformer, prophet, founder of religion or what else, under which we can classify Jesus Christ. . . . There are manifold revelations, but for us there is only one Master and Lord.”

Perhaps the most remarkable contribution to New Testament criticism of recent years, in our own country, is the book called *The Apostolic Age*. Some of the statements are exceedingly bold and destructive in their nature. The traditional views are generally rejected. The Acts of the Apostles is the subject of long discussion. This book, it is held, was not written by Luke, but by some unknown hand at least a generation after the death of St. Paul. It is of composite origin, made up of different sources, whether manuscripts or oral traditions. Of the four gospels Mark alone is the only one written by its reputed author. The epistles of Peter are not from the pen of that apostle. The first of them may have been written by “Barnabas, Peter's old friend.” The pastoral epistles can hardly be Pauline, but the work of some unknown redactor. True, they may contain an underlying Pauline substratum, “but the Christianity of the pastoral epistles is not the Christianity of Paul.” Much is said of the Pauline and Petrine elements in the several books, of the teachings of the two parties in the apostolic Church, and of their misunderstandings. The passage that will shock most people is in a note regarding the Lord's Supper, wherein we read, “At the same time the fact must be recognized that it is not absolutely certain that Jesus himself actually instituted such a supper and directed his disciples to eat and drink in remembrance of him (as Paul says in 1 Cor. xi, 24, 25). Expecting as he did to return at an early day (comp. Mark xiv, 25), he can hardly have been solicitous to provide for the preservation of his memory.” We have been so accustomed for years to hear of the mistakes and blunders of prophets, priests, evangelists, and apostles as no longer to be astonished at such utterances from our liberal friends, but the implication that even our blessed Lord himself might have held erroneous views regarding the future is certainly a little more than we might expect from one claiming to be an evangelical professor of theology.

What then are the signs of the times? Are we growing more or less conservative? Certainly Old Testament criticism has come to a stand-

still, and the current of thought seems to be drifting away toward more sober views. The theories of Wellhausen will not be adopted anywhere without considerable modifications. And in regard to the New Testament the Church has long ago everywhere rejected the advanced views of Baur and the Tübingen school, which granted the Pauline authorship of only four epistles, namely, Romans, the two Corinthians, and Galatians. Most scholars in our day accept the Pauline authorship of almost all the epistles bearing Paul's name, and no longer deny that the four gospels were written in the first century. Even the epistles of John are regarded as having come from the pen which wrote the fourth gospel. And as for the Book of Acts critics generally agree that it is historical, not the patchwork of several lesser documents, but the work of St. Luke, the author of the third gospel. It is really grand to see how the conservative side has triumphed and how the old-fashioned orthodox views are gaining ground in all the universities and pulpits of Germany.

The wide chasm which used to exist between the scientific or, as we would say in this country, professional theologian and the practical pastor and intelligent layman is being gradually closed up. The former was wont to look with semicontempt upon the plain minister who might be rash enough to doubt his *dicta* or raise any question whatever concerning his utterances on biblical criticism. The few Zahns and Rupprechts who attacked the critics were regarded as theological cranks. These, however, persisted and grew in number and importance; their objections were gradually noticed and their questions answered until at length an effort was made to harmonize this growing, opposing host. The liberal wing has now established an organ at Göttingen, *Der Theologische Rundschau*, the object of which is to popularize biblical study and criticism so as to bridge over the chasm between the two opposing camps. No one can read this new monthly without being struck with the great and numerous concessions made by the so-called historical or critical school, as well as with the fact that the New Testament critical scholarship of the past twenty-five years has been growing more and more conservative. The minute study of archaeology and profane history as revealed in the inscriptions and monuments of the first century of our era in Asia Minor and elsewhere has placed the evangelical views on firmer foundations. There are so many little things, "undesigned coincidences," which corroborate incidental statements by New Testament writers once stamped as unhistorical by the critics. Few indeed are those who deny that the entire New Testament was not written before 100 A.D.; fewer still are they who would eliminate all the miraculous and supernatural from this book or who would rob it of its historical character because containing these. Thus, at the close of our century it has come to pass that the names of Paulus, Baur, Strauss, Renan, Pfleiderer, and others of less repute—brilliant and learned as they were—are mentioned as the exponents of exploded theories.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

SELF-SUPPORT ON THE FOREIGN FIELD.

FROM time to time we have called attention to the fact that the Churches on foreign mission fields have vigorously addressed themselves to the phases of development which will make an indigenous, self-sustaining, self-governing, and self-propagating body of Christians. The subject of self-support is by no means new. In Dr. Butler's *From Boston to Bareilly* he emphasizes the fact that from the first the India Mission sought, not to raise up "a body of native preachers supported by foreign money, generation after generation—stipendiaries upon mission funds—while the Churches they serve are in a great degree left free from the obligation of self-denial and liberality which should support the native pastors." And he then adds, "We have never allowed them to settle down into the notion of being pensioners of our Missionary Society." There are at present nearly fifty thousand Christians in the North India Conference, and great care is required to wisely enforce this policy. The result, all things considered, is highly satisfactory. In this Conference there are eighty-nine circuits, having each a preacher-in-charge, though there are but seventy-eight pastors. To the support of these the native churches contribute an aggregate of about one half the total sum required. In one presiding elder's district are fourteen pastors, wholly supported by indigenous funds. In every district the churches pay something for self-support.

In our Japan and China missions similar attention has been paid to the subject, with, on the whole, quite satisfactory results. The Japan Conference resolved that all missionaries, pastors, and preachers should contribute at least one tenth of their incomes to the Lord; that on the national holiday—called "Niiname"—they would take up a special collection for self-support; and also that on Good Friday special prayer should be made for self-denial, that the matter of giving might become a pleasure and not a burden.

The native churches under the supervision of several other missionary societies have reached an advanced stage in self-support by training the native Christians from the beginning to contribute one tenth to the Lord. In Ceylon the American Board missionaries testify that native teachers in government as well as in mission employ, on receiving their pay, at once count out one tenth of it as not their own. Christian farmers, as soon as they reap their rice while yet in the fields measure out one tenth, while every tenth tree is the Lord's plant. The native Christian women, also, each day as they prepare their rice take out a handful and put it into the "Lord's box." As a result they now have twenty-three churches, whose pastors are almost entirely supported by

native Christians, and they have also their own native Bible Society, Tract Society, Sunday School Society, and even a Foreign Missionary Society. All this though they are still very poor people.

Several things seem to be generally conceded in this matter, one of which is that the simplest and surest way to secure self-support is to begin it, in whole or in part, with the very commencement of the organization of a church. It is vastly more difficult to re-form than to form the practice of these churches.

Yet some are coming to feel that there is a possible severity in the early application of the demand for indigenous self-support. Dr. Nevius, whose success in developing an indigenous church in Shantung, China, was admired at one time as phenomenal, held that it was inadvisable to give any financial aid to the native church at any stage of its growth. Quite an extended symposium was recently published, giving the opinions of experienced China missionaries on the results of Dr. Nevius's plan, which tend greatly to modify the estimate in which it had come to be held. Evidently there are conditions in which native Christians, however self-denying, need help in the expansion of their work.

Another thing which needs attention is the application of the term "self-support" to the sustenance of pastors only. In the connectionalism of the Methodist Episcopal Church native Christians are taught to give to the support of the Church as such, so the application of the contribution to pastors, evangelists, church erection, or the Missionary Society is all included in the term "self-support," while in other missions that term is strictly confined to sums raised for pastors.

There is still another point of great importance to the Churches in Christendom. Rev. S. A. Perrine, of the Baptist Assam Mission, says self-support will not result in what many are hoping it will do. If the agitation of the subject and the success of efforts to secure self-support leads people to think it will take the place of their contributions and obedience to Christ's command to evangelize the world, then, says Mr. Perrine, "let it be known that 'self-support' is not a revised version of 'Go ye into all the world.' Obedience to Christ's last command is better than all the 'self-support' in the world." Besides, self-support will not lessen, but increase, the demand for money from Christian lands. Success in the native Church will open new avenues which they cannot enter, just as machinery increases the demand for labor. Self-support is to afford a new energy, not to lessen any existing one.

MISSIONS TO MOHAMMEDANS.

THE Churches are coming to realize that Islamism is so distinct from both Judaism and heathenism that missionary effort among Moslems must be conducted on special lines, and that this special work among Mohammedans has been too much neglected. There are in Europe some 5,750,000 of the followers of Mohammed; in Asia and in the Eastern

Archipelago (as estimated), 169,000,000; in Africa, 40,000,000; in Australasia, 25,000.

More than one fourth of these are citizens of the British empire, India alone containing roundly sixty million Moslems, and under the protection of the British raj the danger to life of Moslems wishing to change their faith is reduced almost to the vanishing point. An eminent writer has pointed out that India is the place where Christian and Mohammedan can meet most fairly with a prospect of mutual understanding. This rare opportunity involves an increasing obligation to give them the Gospel. Much has been done by magnificently equipped pioneer missionaries among Moslems in India. A goodly number have become Christians, but the Moslems have in turn made large accessions from the descendants of the aboriginal races throughout the peninsula of India, the toleration accorded by the British government having thus worked both ways.

There has been educational work in Egypt, Persia, and Arabia, and the Bible and tract societies have done something toward the preparation for advance in many places. But never since the Crusades has the Moslem population so forcibly demanded the attention of the Christian world as within the last decade. The atrocities in Armenia shook the Church and the nations of Christendom out of their indifference and marred the hopefulness with which they had come to consider the Mohammedan population of the world. These abominations jarred the impression which had in some way come to be made that, since Islam contained much truth about the unity and sovereignty of God and taught principles of total abstinence and some other phases of morals, much was to be hoped for in the advance of Mohammedans toward other phases of Christian truth. Those who were imbued with the broad charity toward all the religious communities of the world were becoming disposed to champion even Islam as a faith to be tolerated till it could gradually be regenerated. All this confidence was rudely dispelled by the Moslem massacres in Armenia. Then came the revival of the fanatical militarism of Islam in the advances made by the armies of the sultan in Greece—the movement awakening apprehensions of the solidification of Mohammedans in a general effort to strike at all measures of reform and all movements to Christianize Moslems. The Christian nations have thus come to realize the fact that the Moslem is still a force, and a force antagonistic to all progress.

The British government has given to Islam a setback by demanding disarmament in Crete and the withdrawal of Turkish soldiers from that island. But the severest disturbance that has come to the Moslem world in many a day is the advance of British arms into Upper Egypt and the utter overthrow of the Mahdi in the Soudan. The flower of the Moslem forces were met in their fiercest and most fanatical charges and were utterly destroyed. This means the destruction of the prestige of Mohammedanism in all Africa. Forty millions of Islam in Africa were interested in that contest, and this, added to the abolition of slavery in

parts of eastern and western Africa which set slaves free from the enforced adoption of the religion of their masters, must have a far-reaching tendency to the humiliation of Islam throughout the continent.

"ANGLO-AMERICAN ALLIANCE."

CATCH-WORDS, party calls, and other cries around which popular sentiment crystallizes are often worthy of attention for reasons quite other than those which are apprehended by the authors of them. Do we measure the missionary meaning in the current phrase "Anglo-American Alliance?" Great Britain holds a foreign policy which recognizes national responsibility to govern all conquered peoples for their interest, though indirectly this may accrue to British prosperity. A writer of England says, "Not national glory, not territorial expansion for its own sake, not maritime supremacy, as though it were an end in itself, is the reason for England's present place in the world." God has given her a grip on the unevangelized portions of the world till she is, to-day, "at once religiously the greatest Christian, the greatest Moslem, the greatest heathen power in the world—and the power which holds the sacred seats of the Buddhist as well as of the Hindu faiths, and commands from Aden the birthplace of Mohammedanism." Great Britain, since the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857, has not shrunk in her colonies from meeting her responsibility as a nation bearing the Gospel in trust.

Dr. George Smith, of Edinburgh, has said that the foreign policy of the United States is missions. But this statement must assume a totally new interpretation if we are to become an ally of Great Britain. As a nation we must stand for the widest religious toleration in all the islands of the seas which may come under our protection, while at the same time baneful ecclesiastic organizations are held in check. God has imposed on us the duty to see that religious intolerance in Cuba or the Philippines shall not repress the freedom of religious choice and work by anybody. The quarrel of Henry VIII with the pope opened England to the free circulation of the Bible; the entrance of the Italian army into Rome in 1870 included the entrance of a Baptist missionary with a cartload of Bibles; and the triumph of American arms in Cuba must mean the return without injury of Rev. Albert J. Dias to the Baptist Church of Havana, from which General Weyler drove him. In the Philippines it must mean that the priests and monks at Manila shall not again prevent the establishment of a Bible Society, whether British or American, at that place. It must mean fair play to the people who have risen against the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Carmelites, or Jesuits as the virtual rulers of the land. We do not have to raise the issue; it is raised. The insurgent chiefs in the Philippines made the condition of their surrender in December, 1897, that these friars be expelled or shorn of their power. It will be incumbent on the Churches of America to introduce a pure Gospel, but the nation must keep the road open.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

G. Frommel. Contrary to the opinion of many theology continues to ask questions concerning the effect of the doctrine of evolution upon religion and morals, and the learned world is not ready to allow the doctrine mentioned to go unmolested on its way. Many unbelievers, either because of ignorance or preference, assert that in the contest of evolution with theology the former has won, and that all educated men to-day acknowledge the fact. In truth, the word "evolution" is employed in so many different senses and is applied in so many different realms of being that it would be foolhardy to make any universal affirmation regarding the acceptance or nonacceptance of the doctrine. Certain it is that they are more nearly correct who deny, than they who affirm, the general acceptance of the doctrine of evolution as taught by Darwin, Spencer, or Haeckel, its most widely known advocates. But even if in the physical world the truth of the doctrine could be admitted, still from the standpoint of religion and morals all thoughtful men would be compelled to raise a doubt. This Frommel does, representing thereby a numerous company with regard to ethics, in a recently published work entitled *Le danger moral de l'évolutionnisme religieux* (Lausanne, Payot, 1898). His principal objection is not to the doctrine of evolution, but to the attempt to make it the sole principle upon which all phenomena are to be explained. Particularly does he object to the reduction of the phenomena of the mental life, including the ethical and religious, to the plane of physical nature. He points out how impossible it would be for one thoroughly imbued with the idea of the universality of the application of evolution to be possessed of moral convictions, or to engage in religious activities, and shows that the doctrine of evolution when applied to ethics conflicts not only with the principles of Christian ethics, but also with all ethics. These are sweeping conclusions, but we are constrained to feel that they are correct. The real source of the difficulty is, however, not emphasized by Frommel. Atheistic evolution is dangerous, as he affirms, but theistic evolution is perceived by many thoroughly orthodox and evangelical minds to be perfectly consistent with both morals and religion.

Edgar Hennecke. Interest in the catacombs does not decrease, as is evinced by the recently published studies of Hennecke, entitled *Altchristliche Malerei und altchristliche Literatur. Eine Untersuchung über den biblischen Cyclus der Gemälde in den römischen Katacomben* (Early Christian Painting and Literature. A Study of the Biblical Cyclus of Pic-

tures in the Roman Catacombs). Leipzig, Veit & Co., 1896. All writers have attempted to connect the decorations in the catacombs with utterances of the early Christians; but they have generally made the latter illustrative and explanatory of the former. Hennecke's peculiarity in this respect is that he makes the utterances of the fathers and the paintings to be two independent yet harmonious exhibitions of the same spirit and purpose. Both had in mind the portrayal of God as he was revealed in the Old Testament, and as perfectly revealed in Jesus Christ. For this purpose the early Christian writers cited passages from the Old Testament; and for the same purpose the early Christian artists portrayed scenes from the lives of men of God, including Jesus himself. According to this theory thought was not only put into each painting, but the same thought was put into all. The pictures were not so much the expression of feeling and hope as witnesses and instruments of their intellectual belief. They must be studied as a whole, not as so many distinct works, if they are to be understood. The contrast between Hennecke and his predecessor is more strongly illustrated by the fact that, while he sees in these pictures a declaration of their beliefs relative to God, most interpret them as pointing to the hope of resurrection. We cannot believe, as do some, that merely or chiefly æsthetic or decorative purposes prompted those early Christian artists; as compared with these objects we certainly regard Hennecke's conception of a dogmatic object preferable. Nevertheless, it does not appear likely that they had any well-defined purpose. Their feelings, rather than their reason, found expression in their paintings and decorations. They did not decorate the catacombs, as authors wrote treatises, for a didactic purpose, but as an expression of the most sacred feelings known to the human heart. As such they have for us a boundless significance, and are touching signs of the tender and fervent spirit which filled the heart of the early Christian Church, and manifested itself in manifold expressions.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Zeittafeln und Ueberblicke zur Kirchengeschichte (Chronological Tables and Summary Views in Church History). By H. Weingarten. Fifth edition, revised and extended by Professor C. F. Arnold. Leipzig, Hartung und Sohn, 1897. An excellent revision of an excellent work, which first appeared in 1870, is here offered to the student of Church history. In the preparation of such a work many difficulties are involved, among which a chief one is the exact fixing of dates. This revision has availed itself of the careful and scholarly investigations of such men as Harnack and Zahn in the history of the early Church, and is also marked by care in the dates of the later periods. Another difficulty is the choice of matter. This depends for its value upon the individual judgment. There are many things so evidently important in Church history that no

one would think of omitting them; but if the tables and summaries are not to be confined to these, but are to include minor facts of mere local interest, which of the many thousands of such facts shall be selected? This work, perhaps, does as well as any such book could do in this respect. A reviewer has criticised it for giving the date of the order for the reconstruction of the cathedral in Berlin—March 29, 1888. But, relatively to the ecclesiastical life of Prussia, and particularly to the history of Church architecture, which is certainly a part of Church history, such an order is of first importance. Besides, it is one of those minor events which will be relatively very prominent in Church circles in Germany for years to come; and it will be convenient to have the date of the order on record where it is easy of access. The same reviewer suggests that the book might have contained the dates of certain discoveries in the realm of natural science which have excited controversy or modified theological thought. We incline to think the criticism well founded. Another difficulty is to make the dry facts of a table of events and dates vivid. This, indeed, cannot be done wholly by the author or compiler. The student must bring his interest in the subject with him. But perhaps this work does about all that can be done to stimulate that interest. It so synchronizes events as to make possible the comparison of progress in historical development in different departments, and as to enable the student to associate events, and thus the more easily hold them in memory. This method is made more practicable by the new form of the book, the quarto instead of the octavo. The larger form enables the eye to take in at a glance wider groups of facts. Such a work is useful chiefly as a reference book. Dates cannot be remembered in large numbers, at least by the average student, without long and continuous acquaintance with history; nor is it important that many dates should be held in mind. But for reference or for a summary review such a work is of inestimable value.

Die Entwicklung der Menschen im Lichte christlich-rationaler Weltanschauung (The Evolution of Man in the Light of a Christian-rational View of the World). By C. Andresen. Second edition, Hamburg, 1892. This book is interesting chiefly for its chapter on "Gesetze und Zufall" (Law and Chance), of which we give a summary: We recognize in the world definite laws. These lead us to infer a will as their cause, since a law is the expression of a will. In the law a will makes known what it wills. The same laws rule in all parts of the universe, and hence one will gave us all natural laws. These laws are unchangeable, and what develops according to them develops of necessity as it does. If the results of all activities were determined by this will the world would be one great mechanism. But we observe that some things are left to chance. Man has five fingers on each hand. The number is fixed, not fortuitous. But a tree has no fixed number of branches. A bird flying to its nest

drops a grain of corn which springs up and grows according to fixed laws, but the place of its growth was accidental. If one stand on a mountain and hurl two stones with the same hand at the same time into the valley the stones will fall upon different spots according to the greater or less velocity they received and according to other modifying circumstances. But, as the result of these influences was not determined by any law or will, the position of the stones is fortuitous. If an unknown book lies before a reader the page to which he turns is determined by the insertion of his finger between the leaves; yet this is not determined by any law, but is accidental. The word "chance" does not mean that a thing occurs without a cause, but that the result of the co-operation of various laws is not itself determined by a will or a law. Chance is planless causality as distinguished from designed causality. In this sense no one can deny chance in nature. Without chance in the world-process men could not be distinguished from each other. Since no phenomenon originates without a cause, the existing irregularity and chance must have been willed by the creative will. On this basis the author founds an argument designed to show that creation did not proceed according to the supposed scheme of making everything complete from the beginning, but upon that of leaving some things at least for the exercise of the creative will subsequent to the beginning of things. He confesses that the world cannot be explained on the theory of a mechanism not influenced by something without itself; in this he is, it would seem, indisputably correct as well as consistent with himself, but we are not quite satisfied that Andresen has found the whole truth.

Die Psychologie des Apostels Paulus (The Psychology of the Apostle Paul). By Theodore Simon. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1897. Works on biblical psychology are all too infrequent, probably on account of the doctrine that the psychology of the Bible is not binding upon believers. We have no disposition to dispute this doctrine if properly understood. But it is evident, since Christianity is not merely a doctrine concerning God but also concerning God in his relation to the soul, that the psychological presuppositions of those who convey to us the revelation cannot be far astray if their revelation is to be held as true. Consequently the study of New Testament psychology is an absolute necessity to a correct understanding of Christian theology in its practical aspects. In the present book Simon regards Paul as the psychologist among the apostles, and also as being superior to the empirical psychologists in the fact that he recognizes the damage which sin has brought to the entire inner nature of man. For this reason Simon thinks that Paul should have received greater attention in the history of psychology than he has. In the first part of the work he sets forth Paul's idea of the external or bodily nature of man under the concepts (1) of *σῶμα* and (2) of *σάρξ* and *δύναμις*. The *σῶμα* is that which gives the

form, and is higher than the body and continues after its dissolution. In this way Simon explains the difficulty found in the fact that Paul denies the identity of the earthly and heavenly bodies (1 Cor. xv, 35, *f.*; Rom. vii, 24; 2 Cor. v), and yet seems to presuppose their identity (Rom. viii, 11, 23; Phil. iii, 21). The only sin which affects the *σῶμα* is unchastity. He does not touch the question whether the *σάρξ* is in and of itself sinful, but simply says that except for human guilt a transfiguration of the *σάρξ* into the *δόξα* might take place without intervening death. The second part describes the inner or spiritual nature of man. As a whole it is called "heart;" in certain of its aspects it is now *ψυχή*, now *πνεῦμα*. The last-named element is that which rules the fleshly-psychical life, and which relates us to the higher world recognized by Paul. The heart is thus regarded as the seat, not only of the emotions and the will, but also of the intellect. When he comes to speak of peculiar psychological conditions Simon considers man first under the influence of sin and then under grace. By sin Paul means the personal, demoniacal power of moral evil, present and operative in our flesh. Simon finds in Paul no reconciliation of this with the fact that the apostle treats sin as the responsible act of the individual. Right here is the weak part in Simon's book. He is in error when he attributes to Paul the thought of sin as a foreign personal power operative within us. A foreign power he does hold it to be, but not personal. We are responsible for its fruits because we employ it for our own personal gratification.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Convention of German Freethinkers. This assembly, held in Hanover during the last summer, served to exhibit the fact that atheism is a back number. One of the chief speakers was Ludwig Büchner, now an old man, holding on to all the exploded theories to which in the days of his prime he was able to give a certain currency. He was not received even by his freethinking associates with much enthusiasm. Without his knowing it thought has left him behind. Aside from his blank materialism, which still holds to the original similarity of man to the beasts, what he had to say was chiefly an assault upon the Bible and Christianity. He declared that no confidence whatever can be placed in the records of the New Testament, and that the freethinker regards the Bible, not as of divine origin, but the purely human product of an ignorant, half barbaric age, permeated with superstition, rudeness, and shamelessness of every sort. According to the freethinker Christianity is not an original religion, but is a mixture of Indian, Egyptian, and Persian elements; its moral principles are neither new nor especially valuable, but existed long before Christianity in far better form. The man who can make such assertions and the hearers who can accept them are so far behind the age that it is doubtful whether they can ever catch up.

Another speaker, Bruno Wille, is a young man belonging to the present generation; yet he has been steeped in atheistic antiquities until he too appears as an anachronism. Much of what he had to say about freedom of thought and the final triumph of the truth all Protestants accept without question. But it would seem that a man who poses as an apostle of new light ought to have omitted such stale observations. The only excuse is that he may have known his audience was so ignorant as to take what he said on these subjects for hitherto unspoken wisdom. That free thought means to the German freethinkers the right to think inanities and the thoughts which were held by the ancients, rather than the duty of seeking the truth by modern investigation, was made plain by the utterances at this convention.

A German Estimate of the Fourteenth International Conference of the Young Men's Christian Association. A writer in the *Christliche Welt*, giving an account of this great gathering held in Basel from the 6th to the 10th of July, 1898, after speaking of the attendance from so many and such varied lands, and of Basel as a well-chosen spot for such an assemblage of Christian workers, says that the expectations of the Germans were not met. The attendance was indeed good, but the proceedings lacked earnestness. Instead of calm consideration of the problems before the Conference there was the reading of papers already printed, and without discussion. Most of the time was spent in devotional exercises, such as prayer and song. It is doubtful whether the manner of prayer really corresponded to the true idea of Christian sobriety. One was compelled to think of the simple words of Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount, where at the first hour of morning devotions not less than twenty persons offered prayer. But especially the songs! True, such hymns as "A mighty fortress is our God" were sung; but in the main the songs were of the sweet, weak English type. Such a song as "Onward, Christian soldiers," was stirring and inspiring; but "Safe in the arms of Jesus" will never lead young men to Christ the Lord. It is trifling. The Conference performed no real work. It was a meeting for religious enjoyment, and followed the plan of the English-American services. They were a reproduction of the English May meetings, which are well enough if the English like them; but what right have the English to impose upon the Germans a style of worship which is strange to them and to set aside that which is just as good and which Germans by familiarity have come to enjoy? That the Germans endured the change without murmur is unaccountable. Doubtless the attendants returned to their homes encouraged and strengthened. Yet so much more might have been accomplished that it is to be hoped the Germans will succeed in completely reconstructing any further meetings that may be held. There would seem to be a good deal of justice in the criticisms which have been passed by the German critic.

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SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

"IMPERIALISM" is a term in the national vocabulary whose meaning has received new emphasis by the force of recent events. As an interpreter of its sentiment Charles A. Conant, in the *North American* for September, writes that "the irresistible tendency to expansion which leads the growing tree to burst every barrier, which drove the Goths, the Vandals, and finally our Saxon ancestors in successive and irresistible waves over the decadent provinces of Rome, seems again in operation, demanding new outlets for American capital and new opportunities for American enterprise." Mr. Conant's article is entitled "The Economic Basis of 'Imperialism,'" and aims to show that the new movement "is not a matter of sentiment," but is rather "the result of a natural law of economic and race development." Among the great civilized peoples of the day there has accumulated the large "excess of saved capital which is the result of machine production," and whose existence "is one of the world maladies of the economic situation of to-day." Three solutions of "this enormous congestion of capital in excess of legitimate demand" are suggested. One is the socialistic proposal for "the abandonment of saving, the application of the whole earnings of the laborer to current consumption, and the support of old age out of taxes levied upon the production of the community;" the second solution is "the creation of new demands at home for the absorption of capital;" and the final resource is "the equipment of new countries with the means of production and exchange." The last proposition is that which the great industrial nations are now adopting. Nor can the United States "afford to adhere to a policy of isolation" while other countries are reaching out for the new markets of the world. Necessity compels us to enter upon "a broad national policy," while the details of that policy need not at once be decided. "The writer is not an advocate of 'imperialism' from sentiment, but does not fear the name if it means only that the United States shall assert their right to free markets in all the old countries which are being opened to the superior resources of the capitalistic countries and thereby given the benefits of modern civilization." The question has an economic side. America must find employment for its capital in the countries now opening for investment or suffer the alternative of "the needless duplication of existing means of production and communication, with the glut of unconsumed products, the convulsions followed by trade stagnation, and the steadily declining return upon investments which this policy will invoke."

THE minority of men in the usual Sabbath congregation is a feature of worship which every student of current religious movements must view with concern. To explain this absence of men from the Church is the

purpose of the late Cephas Brainerd, Jr., in the October number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. Writing under the title of "A Misplaced Halo," he discovers a lack of "heartly sympathy between religious and business circles," and points out certain reasons why business men resent the claim of Church and clergy to preeminent and solitary sanctity. The first of these considerations is that "the supreme necessity is food, clothing, and shelter," and that so far as Church and ministry fail to recognize the severity and right of this demand "they are out of sympathy with men at their most sensitive point." In the second place, "business stands beside the family, supreme in sacredness." God's command to men was that they should "subdue" the earth. This conquest "involves labor, invention, planning, organization, the preservation of results; it calls for laws, constitutions, established government." In the process of conquest "the production of the necessities of life is the first step;" and, consequently, "the halo of obedience to God belongs primarily to the farmer, the manufacturer, and the miner, and those who are nearest to them share most in its radiance." By a right interpretation of Scripture "so-called secular business, advancing human civilization, and the institution of the family, taken together, form all that is primarily holy." This brings the author to the last consideration, that "the manifestation of God which appeals to business men is seldom emphasized in sermons or prayer meeting talks." While the implied reflection upon Church and ministry is perhaps too general, yet there is too evidently a "deplorable lack of sympathy between business and religious circles." The exhortation to the minister to lay aside his "misplaced halo" and mingle with business men "in all their moods at work and at play"—though not at the club, as the author suggests—is a wholesome advice. Yet with it may we not look for a new realization by business men that not only in commercial affairs are they "coworkers" with God, but also—as Mr. Brainerd fails to suggest—in matters which directly pertain to the altar and the Sabbath?

AMERICAN pride will be reasonably gratified in the assertion of William Sharp, made in the *Nineteenth Century* for September, that the United States "is on the way to become the Louvre of the nations." From "year to year," he writes, "its public galleries have been enriched with masterpieces of all the modern schools; and by purchase, bequest, or gift many valuable and some great pictures by the older Italian, Flemish, and Spanish masters have been added to the already imposing store of national art wealth." New York in particular, and also Boston, Washington, Philadelphia, and other large cities from New Orleans to Chicago, and from Baltimore to San Francisco, are enumerated as art centers. "There are now in America," Mr. Sharp continues, "more training schools, more opportunities for instruction, more chances for the individual young painter to arrive at self-knowledge than were enjoyed of old by the eager youth of Flanders, of France, of Spain, even of Italy." The

"continual immigration" into the United States of art works "of exceptional interest and value" the writer attributes to "the obvious reasons of widely dispersed wealth, of enterprise, of individual, local, and national pride, and, of course, of mere speculation." The man of wealth, for instance, must be a connoisseur in pictures. "It is for one thing recognized that Mr. Jonathan Dives need not keep race horses, if he does not care for racing, nor a yacht, if he does not care for yachting, nor even a 'place in the country,' if he prefers urban life; but he must own pictures. It is almost the paramount sign of culture, and culture in America is largely identified with ample means. Mr. Dives readily enough falls in with this general persuasion, for he knows that if he delivers himself over to wise guidance, and buys with discretion, he makes a good investment against the hazards of fortune, and in any case does not stand to lose. In Europe pictures purchased by private individuals are generally lost to the public; in America they commonly change ownership with periodic frequency, and soon or late are loaned or bequeathed to civic or national collections." Indulging in this pleasantry as to the pursuits of American millionaires, and having also declared that "there is no atmosphere of art in America at large," Mr. Sharp devotes the most of his article to an enumeration of the pictures in the Metropolitan Museum at New York, and a pointing out of their individual merits. The article, which is to be continued, is entitled "The Art Treasures of America."

THE *New World* for September has as its table of contents: 1. "William Ewart Gladstone," by R. A. Armstrong; 2. "Evolution and Theology," by Otto Pfeiderer; 3. "Oliver Cromwell," by W. Kirkus; 4. "Social and Individual Evolution," by Henry Jones; 5. "The Christianity of Ignatius of Antioch," by A. C. McGiffert; 6. "The Pauline Supernaturalism," by Orello Cone; 7. "Social and Ethical Interpretations in Mental Development," by John Dewey; 8. "Witchcraft in Ancient India," by M. Winternitz; 9. "Current Delusions Concerning Miracles," by J. H. Denison. The first of these articles, written in Liverpool, reflects the English thought upon the work and the greatness of Mr. Gladstone. In his intellectual gifts, his character, and the influence of religion upon his ethical being the author finds those elements which gave Gladstone "in his death a command so transcendent over the reverence and the affection of the English race." The task of our time, says Pfeiderer, of Berlin, in the second article, is "to clothe the spirit of Christianity, its religious-ethical principle, which lay as a compelling force at the basis of all preceding developments, in the fitting and intelligible form for our age, regardless as to how far this new form may be separated from those old ones." The time has now come, if ever, in the estimate of the writer of the third article, for an estimate of Cromwell's work and character. Basing his present review upon certain historical works which have been recently issued, he traces the life of the great leader in able outline. As

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to the verdict, however, upon Cromwell's character, he feels that it will never be rendered. "The jury will certainly disagree." The "next great enterprise of man," Henry Jones, of Glasgow, gives as his opinion, in the following article, "is to attempt to comprehend himself." And, moreover, "social evolution and the evolution of individual character are but two aspects of the same fact." As for Ignatius of Antioch, "the type of thinking of which he is the earliest known representative within the Christian Church," writes Professor McGiffert, "has profoundly influenced the entire development of Christianity." It was for Paul, says the author of the sixth article, to transform "the crude, popular, primitive-Christian supernaturalism in its relation to the Spirit into a profound spiritual supernaturalism whereby the entire religious and ethical life of the believer was brought into living relation to God and mystic fellowship with Christ." The next article reviews a recent book by Professor J. M. Baldwin, and expresses the belief that he has therein "opened a new and important field to psychologist and sociologist." The eighth article is an entertaining historical *résumé* of customs in ancient India. It closes with the assertion that "the religious beliefs and superstitious customs of primitive people are, after all, the foundation on which our own morality, our laws and social institutions are based." The final article affirms that "we have been investigating the Bible by the defensive method of Hume, and the shadow of that method has fallen upon the entire religious world."

THE *Lutheran Quarterly* for October has: 1. "Infant-Faith," by M. Valentine, D.D., LL.D.; 2. "The Duty of Christian Scholars to the Cause of Religious Education," by Honorable J. M. Gregory, LL.D.; 3. "Man and Property," by Professor J. A. Himes; 4. "The Sanctification of the Animal Soul," by Rev. John Tomlinson, A.M.; 5. "The Philosophy of Miracles," by Rev. A. B. Taylor, A.M.; 6. "The Christian Year: A Plea for its Wider Observance," by Rev. F. G. Gotwald, A.M.; 7. "The Press in the Lutheran Church," by Professor V. L. Conrad, D.D.; 8. "Melancthon and the Augsburg Confession," by Professor J. W. Richard, D.D.; 9. "Martin Luther as a Preacher," by Professor J. Yutzy, D.D. These articles merit a fuller notice than is here possible.

PROMINENT among the articles of the *Christian Quarterly* for October is one entitled "The Supply of Preachers." Its author, President J. W. McGarvey, of Lexington, Ky., requested from one hundred and twenty-five ministerial students a statement as to the motives leading them to choose the ministerial profession. Of the fifty who responded thirty-seven acknowledged as the controlling cause "an oppressive sense of duty to God and man."—The leading article in the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for October is entitled "Dr. Abraham Kuyper," and is an ample biographical notice of the great Dutch theologian who now comes to Princeton to deliver a course of lectures on Calvinism.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Sermons Preached on Special Occasions. By H. P. LIDDON, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D.
12mo, pp. 359. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, \$2.

It is doubtful if the Anglican Church has had in our day any stronger preacher than Canon Liddon. To have heard him once in St. Paul's Cathedral is one of the cherished memories of London Sabbaths; a man of sound doctrine and deep conviction, of force and fire, of mental sinew and muscle, of intense spiritual earnestness. These sixteen sermons date from 1860 to 1889. Some have appeared in previous volumes, most were issued separately. The subjects are: "Christ's Welcome to the Penitent," "The Aim and Principles of Church Missions," "Active Love a Criterion of Spiritual Life," "Profit and Loss," "The Conflict with Undue Exaltation of Intellect," "The Victor in the Times of Preparation," "Personal Responsibility for the Gift of Revelation," "Jonah," "A Sister's Work," "Christ and Education," "Noah," "The One Salvation," "Love and Knowledge," "Teaching and Healing," "Devotion to the Church of Christ," "Religion and Arms." An especially characteristic discourse and a model sermon is the one on "Responsibility for the Gift of Revelation," which says in part: We notice among men around us three attitudes of feeling toward Revelation—indifference, hostility, and acceptance. *Indifference* is sometimes deliberate, sometimes not. One form is the indifference of some who consider religion an admirable supplement to the police, well calculated to reconcile the poor to their lot and furnish them with motives for sober living, but who would not think of wasting time on the inquiry whether religion affects themselves. Another form of indifference assumes that no one of the positive religions of the world is likely to be true; and, therefore, advises all men, Moslems, Pagans, or Christians, to follow the religions in which they have been born, as containing perhaps some relative, though no absolute, truth. Yet another form of indifference admits the Christian Revelation in general terms, but decides that while this and that doctrine may be essential and fundamental, a third and fourth, which rest on precisely the same authority, are of no consequence. A perpetual colloquy goes on between Revelation, urging its claims, and indifference weary of such importunities, and trying to silence them by apathetic arguments and objections, no way in earnest, but languidly fencing against an unwelcome subject. But indifference is a levity against which the soul of man and the solemnities of life and death utter their perpetual protest. Reason and prudence condemn it. A few men are hostile to Revelation. *Hostility* is better than indifference; has more moral nerve, is more earnest, and promises better for the future; it

implies at least interest and attention, and with all its bitterness may be near the kingdom of heaven. Saul of Tarsus, breathing out threatenings and slaughter, was on the eve of his conversion. In a Christian country hostility to Revelation is frequently of moral origin, albeit disguised in an intellectual dress; not that all who reject it have committed enormous crimes, but if a man is clinging to one known sin which Christianity condemns he has a powerful motive for wishing the Gospel to be untrue. Affluent circumstances, unimpaired health, and luxurious indulgence in material comforts make men resent being disturbed with reference to their responsibility for others or by unpleasant intimations about the hereafter. Personal vanity makes men hostile to Revelation; they turn Revelation into conversational capital and try to gain a reputation as independent thinkers; they repeat smart sayings about the Pentateuch gathered from the last skeptical writer, a few witticisms at the expense of holy men whom the Bible holds up to our reverence, a few flimsy generalizations about the laws by which religions are said to grow into shape and attain authority. The moral causes of opposition to God's word are deep and general in the perverted nature of man. But if a man, by God's help, clears away his moral reluctances and oppositions he will find little trouble with intellectual difficulties. He will not assume that there must be no clouds and darkness round about the Almighty, no mystery in things divine, no difficulties in Revelation. He will not make his own thoughts the measure of truth; he will remember that Revelation rests on the authority of God, and that it is objectively true whether he realizes it subjectively or not. One cause of hostility to Revelation to-day is a mental temper too exclusively subjective. A man admits only such truth as harmonizes with his own idiosyncrasies. Truth is to be true only on condition that it is felt. "Christ may be present if he is felt to be present; not else. Scripture may be inspired if you can feel the glow of its inspiration; not else. The Holy Spirit may sanctify if you can map out the exact track of his influence; not else. Jesus Christ may be divine if as you survey his human character you can feel his divine majesty; not else. God may be what you desire him to be; he may be Benevolence without justice, Wisdom or Power without liberty of action, a Providence dealing with general laws but not taking account of each sparrow that falls to the ground. The subjective spirit, indeed, does not receive God as he has revealed himself. It remodels him and makes its own god. You only know what it means by God when you have examined the particular mind which names him. The subjective temper accepts this attribute and rejects that; admires this dispensation and is dissatisfied with that; approves of one doctrine but objects to another. It deals with its own impressions, not with divine realities; and talks, appropriately enough, not about religious *truth*, but about religious *views*. It offers its kaleidoscope of ever-changing views as a substitute for that glorious creed which was once delivered to the saints; and it ends in the deep pit of materialism, where the belief in

invisible truth is killed out altogether." Such intellectual difficulties as may not be explained by patient study can reasonably be set aside because of the immense presumptions in favor of a Revelation and the actual evidence in proof that one has been given. The proper attitude toward revealed Truth is *acceptance and submission*. But responsibility does not end with mere acceptance. Those who receive it are responsible for three forms of effort with regard to it. We are responsible for *thinking much about it!* not put it away on a high shelf of the mind and take it down once a week just to see that it is there; not treat it as a precious curiosity, but study it earnestly with some such keen interest as prevailed in the ancient Church when its several books could only be procured in manuscript and with difficulty. Our hold on Truth is superficial because we do not meditate intensely. "Meditation is not Tityrus lying at ease under the shade of a widespreading beech tree; it is David, hunted for his life, yet deliberately pausing to contemplate the Divine justice and mercy; it is St. Paul, spending three years as a solitary recluse in the Arabian desert that he may be nerved with Divine strength for the conversion of the world and for his martyrdom; it is St. John, an exile and a prisoner for the name and patience of Jesus, reading in the opened heavens the coming history of the Church. Meditation is the whole soul moving forth to welcome the Truth; it is intelligence measuring the range of truth; it is affection embracing truth for the sake of its matchless beauty and infinite worth; it is will firmly resolving to embody the Truth in act and life." We are responsible, too, for *propagating Revelation*. Absence of interest in the spiritual state of those around us, or of the heathen, is proof that we have no vital hold on the great truths of Redemption. "We believe the faith," said one, "when we are ready to die for it." Surely, if we are not called to give our blood, at least God has a right to our interest, our prayers, our efforts, our time, our money, for propagating his revealed truth through all the world. Above all, we are responsible for *living the truth of Revelation*. The enemies of Christ charge, and often too truly, that, while Christians profess a lofty faith, they live much like everybody else—aimless or self-indulgent lives with no mark of the cross or print of the nails visible upon them. We are to walk worthy of our vocation and be doers of the word, not hearers only. If it is worth while to be Christians at all it is worth while to be Christians in downright earnest. Dr. Liddon's sermon on "Teaching and Healing" was delivered before an international medical congress in St. Paul's Cathedral, and deals with the responsibilities and opportunities of the medical profession in teaching truth and inculcating virtue, in pointing out the operative force and inevitableness of some of God's laws, in tracing the limitation of human knowledge, in teaching reverence for the body and for the spirit of man, and in cultivating compassion and benevolence. In his sermon on "Devotion to the Church of Christ" he portrays the glorious and self-obliterating devotion of multitudes in past ages, the

imperative need of similar enthusiasm now, and, in one paragraph, says: "It may be thought that such enthusiasm belongs to a day when the Old Testament had not been largely resolved by destructive criticism into late forgeries or doubtful legends, and when the heroes of popular novels had not yet cast off the dust of their feet against the creed of Christendom. No, my brethren, these features of our time do not really affect the religious situation. Wait a little, and you will see that as after inquiry the New Testament has survived Strauss, and Baur, and Schwegler, so the Old Testament will not go to pieces at the bidding of Kuenen and Wellhausen. All that negative criticism can do is to modify some incidental features of our traditional way of looking at Scripture; the main fabric remains intact. And as to the Christian Deism that aims to supplant Christianity, if it will only think long and steadily enough, it will surely discover that no difficulties in the creed which it rejects are so great as those of faith in a Being who is still held to be All-good as well as All-knowing and Almighty, but who yet, surveying this scene of moral misery and pain, has, on the hypothesis, left it to itself."

The Christian Revelation. By BORDEN P. BOWNE. 16mo, pp. 107. Cincinnati: Curtis & Jennings. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

The Preface tells us that this booklet was written to relieve some of the difficulties under which popular religious thought labors. The essential thought is that the current difficulties concerning revelation are needless, if not gratuitous, and arise mainly from the abstract discussion of a problem which can be successfully dealt with only in the concrete. The author is sure that the practical value of the Scriptures must be determined in the way here suggested, and that the effective defense and recommendation of revelation must follow the lines which he lays down. "What is the Christian Revelation?" is the first question asked and answered. The headings of the other divisions are these: "Value of the Christian Revelation," "Inspiration or Dictation," "Inerrancy of the Bible," "The Bible and Revelation," "Natural and Supernatural," "Literature or Dogma," "Revelation as Progressive." Commending Professor Bowne's treatise to the attention of our readers, we have room for only one or two quotations: "I do not think that Christianity removes many, if any, of the intellectual difficulties we feel in contemplating life and the world; it rather outflanks them by a revelation which makes it possible to love and trust Him, notwithstanding the mystery of his ways, and which assures us that all good things are safe, and are moving on and up,

'Through graves and ruins and the wrecks of things,
Borne ever Godward with increasing might.'

The Christian revelation is "a revelation of God, of his gracious purpose and his gracious work. As such it is,

'The fountain light of all our day,
A master light of all our seeing.'

It is a great spiritual force at the head of all the beneficent and inspiring forces which make for the upbuilding of men and the bringing in of the kingdom of God. If we would know some things we must turn to nature, or to history, or to psychology; but if we would know what God is and what he means for men we must come to the Christian revelation, especially as completed in Jesus Christ. Here only do we find the Father adequately revealed. But we often fail duly to appreciate this revelation, or we make ourselves needless difficulties in understanding it, because of sundry misconceptions, which we now proceed to consider." The author thinks that "there has been a very great and wholesome growth in Christian thought in recent years. Under the guidance of the promised Spirit we are coming nearer to the truth of God. The elaborate constructions and interpretations of earlier creeds are falling away; but in their place we have something infinitely better, a clearer apprehension of that Fatherhood of which every fatherhood in heaven and earth is named; of God's moral purpose in the world; of his upbuilding kingdom, and his nearness to every faithful soul. The mechanical and artificial conception of salvation also is falling away, and we are coming to see that the end of the law is love, that is, the purpose of the law is to beget love in the heart and life. Or again, more concretely and comprehensively, Christ is the end of the law; that is, the fundamental aim is to reproduce Christ in the disciple. And this insight is gradually transforming Christian thought from an incredible mechanism of words and rites to a living and life-giving conception of what God is and what he means." "Experience shows that life can abide across many changes of conception, and even that the new conception may be more favorable to life than the old. And this is true of the newer views of the Bible and revelation. We have no longer a dictated and infallible book, but we have the record of the self-revelation of God in history and in the thought and feeling of holy men. With this change the intellectual scandals and incredibilities which infest the former view have vanished, and in its place has come a blessed and growing insight into what God is and what he means, which is our great and chief source of hope and inspiration."

Praxis in Manuscripts of the Greek Testament. By Rev. CHARLES F. SITTERLY, B.D., Ph.D., Professor of Biblical Literature and the Exegesis of the English Bible in Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. 8vo, pp. 63. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curtis & Jennings. Price, cloth, \$1; postage 7 cents additional.

Professor Sitterly's Preface begins by saying: "The latest text of the Greek New Testament is, beyond doubt, the best. It is the result of the painstaking researches of many generations, and no single manuscript extant, however ancient or accurate, can compare with it as an *apparatus criticus* for the thorough student. An elementary knowledge of the sources from which this text has been derived and of the processes by which it has been evolved is essential to the training of one who would

rightly divide the word of truth." The book is intended to furnish assistance to the acquirement of such knowledge. The chapters in order are upon the materials on which the manuscripts were written, whether papyrus, parchment, or paper; the instruments with which they were written—pens, inks, and other instruments; the forms in which the manuscripts are preserved, such as the roll, the codex, and the palimpsest; and the methods of marking and measuring the manuscripts, including punctuation, accents, and breathings, abbreviations and contractions, and stichometry. These chapters are introductory to the study of thirteen facsimile plates of sheets from as many different manuscripts. These plates are accompanied by notes descriptive and explanatory, and are followed by a complete table, naming the chief codices in which witness is borne to the New Testament writings, and showing the condition and value of all the manuscripts named. A note says: "The rare collection of New Testament minuscules in the possession of Drew Theological Seminary, being near at hand, has largely afforded the illustrative material for this work. It was provided by the great generosity of Mr. William White, late of Summit, N. J., for many years a trustee of the school and a man of exceptionally high tastes and literary sympathies. To Dr. Albert L. Long, Professor in Robert College, Constantinople, in cooperation with President Buttz, of the seminary, is due the selection and purchase of the manuscripts in Asia Minor, Constantinople, and the islands of the Ægean Sea." A working Bibliography of the subjects discussed is prefixed.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Evolution of the College Student. By WILLIAM DE WITT HYDE, President of Bowdoin College. 12mo, pp. 39. New York and Boston: T. Y. Crowell & Co. Price, cloth, 35 cents.

This is one of that excellent series of fifty choice booklets of large variety and value which Crowell & Company have issued in uniform style and price. It may be well worth anybody's while to send to these publishers for a catalogue of the series. They make a fine and inexpensive little library for the home table. Their subjects and the names of the authors, if we had room to print them, would attract many purchasers. They are called the "What is Worth While Series." President Hyde was requested by the University Club of Buffalo to furnish a paper which would show the inner life of the college of to-day; and he makes a typical student give us an inside view of his own experiences and progress during the four momentous years of his course. The student himself is made to narrate, in letters to family and friends, his Freshman sorrows, Sophomore conceits, Junior misgivings, and Senior prospects and purposes. So we have here a picture of the average undergraduate as known by a college president. Its design is stated by its author thus: "This kinetoscopic picture is presented in the hope that

it may assure overanxious parents that not every aberration of their sons is either final or fatal, persuade critics of college administration that our problem is not so simple as they seem to think, and inspire the public with the conviction cherished by every college officer, that college students, with all their faults and follies, are the best fellows in the world, and that, notwithstanding much crude speculation about things human, and some honest skepticism concerning things divine, the great social institutions of family, and industry, and Church, and State may be safely intrusted to their true hearts and generous hands." In these letters the young fellow writes of religious life at college, literary studies, thoughtless pranks, athletics, philosophy, college settlements, choice of a profession, relations of labor and capital, discussing these and other topics from the changing standpoints of his onward growth. The Freshman has this to say of the impressions made on him by the religious services in the college and at the church: "As for the meetings—well, I go to them regularly, but cannot say I particularly enjoy them. Some of the fellows have such wonderful experiences of grace that I don't know what to make of it. I never had anything of the kind. If that is essential to a man's being a Christian—why, I simply am not in it. I can't conceive of myself as feeling like that. It does not seem natural. I want to do right; I know I do wrong. I know I need to be turned right about face once in so often, or else I should go straight down hill. And I am glad to spend an hour each week with fellows who are trying to get a brace in the same direction. To tell the truth, I don't get much out of church here. The ministers are smart enough, and they roll out great glowing periods. But when they are through I cannot tell for the life of me what they have been driving at. You hear a lot about justification, sanctification, and atonement; and then you hear a lot about Phrygia, Pamphylia, and Mesopotamia. Once in a while there comes along a man who seems to understand us. He will throw out some practical and moral problem that we are grappling with; pile up the arguments in favor of the indulgence just as they pile up in our own minds; and then turn around, knock them all to splinters, and show how much more noble and manly it is to overcome temptation, and show us Christ as the great champion in the moral and spiritual welfare of the world." Of authors the Freshman writes: "The two writers I love best are Carlyle and Emerson, although I don't profess to understand much of either of them. Carlyle braces me up when I am tempted to loaf and shirk; Emerson tones me down when I am tempted to pretense and insincerity. Both tend to make me more simple and true and real." When the boy is a Sophomore, bumptious, audacious, insubordinate, and iconoclastic, he writes to his mother: "As for the Young Men's Christian Association and that sort of thing which you inquire about, to tell the truth, I haven't been much lately. Between football and society my time has been pretty well taken up. I believe in having a good time and letting everybody else have the same; I believe in father's version of the

golden rule, which is, you know, 'Do to others as you think they would do to you if they had a chance.' I don't see why we should try to cast our lives in the narrow and contracted grooves marked out for us in primitive times, when the world was just emerging from barbarism. I recognize, of course, that life, like every game, has its rules, which you must obey if you want to get any fun out of it. But it strikes me that for the rules of life you must go to the men who have studied life from its first beginnings in plant and animal up to its latest development in the modern man. Mill and Spencer, Huxley and Tyndall ought to be better authorities on the rules of this game than the ingenious priests who relieved the monotony of exile by drawing up an ideal code and attributing it to Moses; men on whose minds the first principles of the synthetic philosophy had never dawned, and who had no more conception of the conditions which evolution has brought about in our day than the man in the moon. Now, I mean to do my best, as soon as I get time, to find out what the rules of life are according to the most approved modern authorities, and then play the game of life as I do the game of football—fair and hard. I shall never cheat, never shirk, never be afraid. There's my creed up to date. If there are any other rules delivered by competent authority, and accepted by all players of good standing, I shall obey them too. So don't be anxious about my religious condition. If you don't like my creed, my practice is all right. I haven't done anything I would be ashamed to have you know, except a little foolishness that doesn't amount to anything and isn't worth mentioning. And as long as I honestly try to do as you would have me I can't go far astray." When he is a Junior his letters show more seriousness, more reverence, more wisdom, as in this to his mother: "Now, I gladly admit that Jesus taught the world once for all the great lesson of this self-devotion of the individual to the service of society. While others had anticipated special aspects and applications of this principle, he made it central and supreme. In doing so he became the Lord and Master of all who are willing to become humble servants of their fellow-men. I acknowledge him as my Lord and Master; and that, too, in a much profounder sense than I ever supposed the word could mean. I do not, however, find much of this, which I regard as the essence of Christ's teaching and spirit, either in traditional theology or conventional Christianity. Orthodox theology seems to have been built up around the idea of saving the merely individual soul, while Christ's prime concern was to show men how to lose that selfish sort of soul. In short, I propose to tackle the most pressing problem of the present day—that of the just distribution of the products of human toil; and I propose to give my time and talents, and to throw away my wealth and position, for the sake of contributing what I can to its solution. That is what, as I conceive it, Jesus would do were he in my place to-day. Now, if leaving all and following Jesus is Christianity, I am and mean to be a Christian; but if you insist on the ecclesiastical definition of the term, then I am

not a Christian, and probably never shall be." A year and a half of study in political economy makes the young man, who has decided to go into manufacturing business, write his father thus: "I have had entirely knocked out of me those crude notions about the inherent wickedness of capital, the tyranny of ability, and the sole and exclusive claim of labor to divide among its own hands the entire joint product of the three great agencies. What you told me, too, about your running at a loss during these hard times has thrown a new light on the matter. I fully appreciate the force of your remark that the problem of industry is not how to divide the spoils, but how to distribute responsibility. I have also gotten over my horror of the trust. I recognize that the increased efficiency of machinery, the cheapening of transportation, the swift transmission of intelligence, the factory system, the massing of population in cities, the concentration of capital in large corporations with extensive plants and enormous fixed charges, the competition of all relatively imperishable and transportable products in one vast world-market, have radically changed the conditions of production, and made old-fashioned small-scale production and free competition between petty competitors impossible. No, father; I don't think you are a robber baron because you have joined the trust. I begin to realize the tremendous pressure a corporation is under when it must pay interest, keep up repairs, and meet fixed charges, and can come much nearer meeting these obligations by producing at a loss than by not producing at all. I see that the cutting of prices below cost by old concerns trying to get out of speculative complications, and by new concerns eager to get a footing in the market, makes effective combination an absolute necessity. I see that the trust is simply an effective way of doing what was ineffectively attempted by informal agreements as to trade customs, listings, quotations, and schedules of prices, written agreements limiting output and fixing prices, the appointment of common agents to market the product, and the like. I accept the trust as the stage of economic evolution which the world is now compelled to enter." When he has become a Senior, and the discipline of a college course has taken effect on him, and the better wisdom of maturing years has balanced him, he writes to his mother: "You complain that I do not say much about religion nowadays. As I have told you often, religion is not to my mind an external form superimposed upon life from without, but is the informing spirit of life itself. In striving to do with my might the thing my fellow-men need most to have done for them I feel that I am at the same time doing what is most acceptable to God and most conformable to the teaching and example of Jesus Christ. At the same time I have gotten over that antipathy to religious institutions which I have had for a year or two. I have gone back to the Christian Association here in college; and whether the change is in them or in me I don't know; but I find myself able both to do good and to get good in their meetings. In fact, unless there were some such meeting

ground for the expression and cultivation of our ideals, I don't see how they could be kept from fading out. It is a great help to feel that in spite of the diversity of taste, talent, and vocation so many earnest fellows are going out into the world as sincere servants of the one God, followers of the one Lord, and workers in the one Spirit. I shall also connect myself actively with the Church. I do not profess to have solved all the problems of theology; and fortunately our Church does not require of laymen like me subscription to an elaborate creed. I see that the cry, 'Back to Jesus,' in religion, is as foolish as the cry, 'Back to Phidias,' in art, or 'Back to Homer,' in poetry. We cannot go back to primitive simplicity and *naïveté* in any department of life. The subsequent development is part and parcel of our spiritual inheritance, of which it is impossible to divest ourselves. The Church, as the organized institutional expression of the life of the Spirit of God in the heart of humanity, I accept as a spiritual necessity. And I should no more think of trying to serve God and my fellow-men apart from it than I should think of shouldering my individual musket and marching across the fields on my own private account to defend my country against an invading army. Christian kindness, Christian justice, Christian civilization, Christian culture, the Christian family, and above all a Christian mother like you, I believe in and love with all my heart. And now that the Church has come to represent to my mind, symbolically at least, all these most precious and beneficent influences that have entered into the structure of my character and life, I cannot do less than freely give my influence and support to the institution from which, indirectly if not directly, I have freely received so much. So, my dear mother, if you will look beneath the outward form to the underlying spirit, I hope you will see that after all I am a good deal of a Christian, and mean to be in my own way something of a minister too." The title he gives his graduating thesis is, "Naturalness, Selfishness, Self-sacrifice, Self-realization," and intimates the stages and the course of inner development during his four years' course. As a sort of syllabus of his commencement address he gives us this outline of a student's progress: "First: We set out as nature has formed and tradition has fashioned us, innocent, susceptible, frail. The hard, cruel world comes down upon us, and would crush us under its heavy, unintelligible weight. Second: We rise up against it, defy tradition, and throw convention to the winds. We in turn strive to trample others under foot. But though we wear spiked shoes, we find the pricks we kick against harder and sharper than our spikes. Third: We surrender, abjectly and unconditionally; cast spear and shield away in the extreme of formal, abstract self-denial, and ascetic, egotistical self-sacrifice. This in turn betrays its hollowness and emptiness and uselessness and unreality. Fourth: The Lord of life, against whom we've been blindly fighting all the while, lifts us up in his strong arms; sets us about the concrete duties of our station; arms us with the strength of definite human duties, and cheers

us with the warmth of individual human love; and sends us forth to the social service which to hearts thus fortified is perfect freedom and perennial delight. Such a process of spiritual transformation I take to be the true significance of a college course. To be sure, in college, as in the great world of which it is a part, none see the meaning of the earlier phases until they reach the later; and consequently many never see any sense in it at all. For the great majority of men go through college, as the great majority of them go through life, without getting beyond the first or second stage, and graduate, as Matthew Arnold says most men die, 'Unfreed, having seen nothing, still unblest.'

Early Letters of George William Curtis. Edited by GEORGE WILLIS COOKE. 12mo, pp. 294. New York and London: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, gilt top, \$1.50.

The rare grace and unsurpassed charm of Curtis can never be forgotten by those who knew him, and these letters, along with his other writings, will float his influence like a fragrance far on into the years that are to be. This volume of letters shows his independence, his love of humanity, his courage in maintaining his own convictions, his chivalrous and romantic spirit, his literary skill and charm, his profound spiritual convictions, that would not be limited by any sectarian bounds, and in addition they constitute the record of one of the most interesting periods of an unusually interesting life. Mr. Curtis was forming friendships with Ralph Waldo Emerson, George P. Bradford, John S. Dwight, Charles A. Dana, C. P. Cranch, Margaret Fuller, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, George Ripley, Henry Thoreau, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and many others—friendships which were destined to ripen and develop later on; and his impressions and experiences are duly recorded in this series of letters. Mr. Cooke, who edits the letters, gives in the first third of the book an interesting account of the early life at Brook Farm and Concord, with reminiscences of the men Curtis met. George William Curtis went to Brook Farm in 1842, when he was eighteen years old, and the two years he spent there formed an important episode in his life, for although he did not surrender himself to the associationist idea, but remains rather an individualist, yet he loved the men and women who were at the head of the community, and it is safe to say that without Brook Farm and transcendentalism his life would have been less worthy of our admiration. The winter of 1843-44 he spent at his father's house in New York, and in the spring of 1844 went to live in Concord for purposes of study and recreation. Then come the early letters to John S. Dwight, forty-one in all, dated 1843 to 1847 inclusive, and in conclusion twenty-one letters of later date written at various times from 1850 to 1886. The Brook Farm community was an attempt at practical Christianity. It did not interpret the words "The poor ye have always with you" to mean "ye must always keep some of you poor." The practical Christian was one who said to his neighbor, "Friend, come up higher." The way to the golden age was held to lie through justice, substituting cooperation for competition, leading men from "the Gehenna of compe-

tition" to "the Arcadia of cooperation." The Brook Farmers were a company of educated and refined persons, "who felt that the immense disparity of condition and opportunity in the world was a practical injustice, full of peril for society, and that the vital and fundamental principle of Christianity was universally rejected by Christendom as impracticable." Brook Farm failed, but its ideals were pure and noble. The dignity of all useful labor was one of its central convictions. The strength of character developed by honest toil is shown in Emerson's description of his neighbor, Edmund Hosmer, an intelligent farmer and upright man: "In an afternoon of April I found the farmer in his cornfield. He was holding the plow and his son driving the oxen. This man always impresses me, he is so manly, so sweet-tempered, so faithful, so disdainful of appearances—excellent and reverable in his old weather-worn cap and blue frock bedaubed with the soil of the field; so honest, withal, that he always needs to be watched lest he should cheat himself. I remember with some shame that in some dealing we had together a long time ago I found that he had been looking to my interest and nobody had looked to his part. As I drew near this brave laborer in the midst of his own acres I could not help feeling for him the highest respect. Here is the Cæsar, the Alexander of the soil, conquering and to conquer, after how many and many a hard-fought summer's day and winter's day; not like Napoleon, hero of sixty battles only, but of six thousand, and out of every one he has come victor; and here he stands with Atlantic strength and cheer, invincible still. These slight and useless city limbs of ours will come to shame before this strong soldier, for his having done his own work and ours too. What good this man has he has earned. No rich father or father-in-law left him any inheritance of land or money. He borrowed the money with which he bought his farm, and has bred up a large family, given them a good education, and improved his land year by year, and this without prejudice to himself the landlord, for here he is a man every inch of him. Innocence and justice have written their names on his brow. Toil has not broken his spirit. His laugh rings with the sweetness and hilarity of a child; yet he is a man of strongly intellectual taste, of much good reading, and of an erect good sense and independent spirit which can brook neither usurpation nor falsehood in any shape." Curtis, a city boy, toughened his delicate manhood, and bred brawn and sinew for himself by working on a farm, where he and his brother shoveled manure, plowed, mowed, and planted, living together in a single room, where they did their own cooking and housekeeping, living chiefly on milk, crackers, cheese, and fruit, eating no meat, as they were Grahamites. Here is what he says about his labor: "I mow and sweat and get tired very heartily, for I want to drink this cup of farming to the bottom, and taste not only the morning froth, but the afternoon and evening strength of dregs and bitterness, if there be any." They helped Thoreau build his hut at Walden Pond. They botanized. They read many books. A glimpse

of later reading and study is given: "My German progresses finely. I have read Novalis's poetry, and am just now finishing the *Lehrjahre*. Burrill and I have finished Johnson's *Elements of Agriculture*. I read to him daily from Bunyan. I am also busy with Beaumont and Fletcher, Paul's epistles, and St. Augustine." The value of this engaging book is chiefly in what it gives us of the lofty and tender soul of Curtis, of which we transcribe a few expressions: "The severity of Nature is a stern and lofty cordial to me. I must obey or die. She sits brooding over the world, announcing her laws by blows and knocks, by agonies and convulsions, by the mouths of wise men who affirm that as the sowing so also is the harvest. And there is no alleviation, no palliation. She heeds no prayers, no sighs; those who fall must raise themselves. When she has thus trained us to stand on our feet everything works for us, the sun and moon are lamps for our enlightenment, and men and women leaves of a wondrous book. The honest man who knows nothing of Greece and Rome derives from the swelling trees and the bending sky the same subtle infusion of heroism and nobility that is the vitality of history. . . . Could we appreciate the worth of every art and every landscape and man they would be identical. As I am a better man, the more soluble is the great outspreading riddle of Nature, and the more distinct and full the delicate grace of art. The best critic of art is the man whose life has been hid with God in nature." "Most men live to acknowledge in heart the superiority of young dreams over old possessions; and the world feels that in the unshrinking aspirations of the youth lies the hope of the world. That is the lightning that purifies the dense atmosphere." "Fourier seems to me to have postponed his life in finding out how to live." "Our evils are entirely individual, not social. What is society but the shadow of the individuals behind it?" "Reform is purification, forming anew, not simply forming again." "God always weighs down the devil. Therefore the Church is not a collection of puzzling priests and deceived people, but the representative forever of the religious sentiment which is elemental and eternal." Of Elizabeth Barrett Browning he wrote: "She is a woman of vigorous thought, but not very poetical thought, and throwing herself into verse it involuntarily becomes honeyed so that it cloy. It is not quite natural. Her highly colored robe is not harmonious with her native style of thought. Tennyson's world is purple, and so are his thoughts. Therefore his poetry is natural. Wordsworth lives in a clear atmosphere of thought, and his poetry is simple and natural, but not more so than Tennyson." "Proverbs are the homely disguises in which wisdom roams the world." "Poetry is the loftiest expression of the intellectual sphere." Of Bettine and Goethe he writes: "A child singing wonderful songs in the starlight, serenading with tender passionate love songs the old man who waves his hands and breathes down a kiss which is chilled by the night air and falls like a snowflake into her bosom, not as a star upon her brow." From Concord he writes in 1845:

"Last Sunday Father Taylor preached here, and all the heretics went to church. In the afternoon he preached temperance. After the afternoon service we tea'd with him at Mr. Emerson's. He is a noble man, truly the Christian apostle of his time. It is impossible to pin him anywhere. He is like the horizon, wide around but impossible to seize. I know no man who thrills so with life to the very tips, nor is there anyone whose eloquence is so thrilling to me." Of the Unitarians Curtis wrote in 1845, "I do not feel impressed by them very much; they stand in such a negative position, 'one stocking off and the other stocking on.'" Referring to the Republican presidential convention of 1884 he writes: "I voted for Edmunds every time, and in the uproar of the vote that made Blaine's nomination I held my peace. But had I voted for Blaine, and had afterward found good reasons to change my mind, I should not have hesitated to take the course I have taken." To the surprise of his party, it will be remembered, he suddenly turned his support to Grover Cleveland.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Collections and Recollections. By ONE WHO HAS KEPT A DIARY. 8vo, pp. 375. New York and London: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, \$2.50.

The author of this anonymous book is said to be Mr. G. W. E. Russell, whose *Life of Gladstone* is favorably known. It is a rich volume of reminiscences of society and public men in England during the last seventy-five years, a most interesting addition to the anecdotal literature of the Victorian era. It is not mere gossip. In the chapters on "Social Equalization," "Religion and Morality," "Politics," and "The Evangelical Influence," we find a study of the tendencies of English society at the beginning of this century, the social effects of the French Revolution, the democratization of the peerage, and the awakening of the British conscience and the reviving seriousness of the upper classes which followed the coronation of Queen Victoria. Under the headings, "Parliamentary Oratory," "Repartee," "Flatterers and Bores," "Conversation," "Parodies," "Letter-writing," "Verbal Infelicities," "Links with the Past," "Officialdom," the author recounts many events and sayings which have entertained English society in the present century. Then there are chapters on Lord Russell, Lord Shaftesbury, Cardinal Manning, Lord Houghton, and Lord Beaconsfield. It is the best book of its kind in these years. That truly illustrious and most noble nobleman, Anthony Ashley, seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, is pictured with lifelikeness; tall and spare, powerfully framed, features handsome and strongly marked, complexion pale as marble, thick jet-black hair even in age; in appearance and bearing the very embodiment of aristocracy, his countenance expressive of precision and stern though melancholy resolve. For seventy years he held that aristocratic face pityingly and lovingly in contact with human suffering, and in its deepening lines men could read

his intense tenderness toward weakness and misery and his passionate indignation against cruelty and oppression. His early years were made miserable by the harsh severity of his parents. The father used to knock him down with his fist. The only element of joy for him in childhood was the devotion of an old maidservant who comforted his sorrows and taught him the rudiments of Christian faith. In manhood this saintly nobleman continued to use the very words of prayer which this good serving-woman taught him before he was seven years old, and to the last day of his life he wore the plain gold watch left him as a keepsake by that dear old servant whom he called "The best friend I ever had in the world." As the chosen occupation of his lifetime he immersed his extraordinary energies in philanthropic enterprises; reform of the Lunacy Law and humaner treatment of lunatics; abolition of slavery all over the world; sanitary reform and promotion of public health; crusade against vivisection; reform of Factory Laws and regulation of labor in the interest of operatives; arbitration between employers and employed; schools and orphanages for ragged children; relief of the chimney sweeps—these were some of the objects for which he battled, counting every man an enemy who opposed them. Three times he refused a seat in the cabinet, because it would take time from his benevolent and philanthropic labors. The "enthusiasm of humanity" was kindled in him by the love of Christ which constrained him and dominated every action of his magnificent life. He carried the Ten-Hours' Factory Bill against Gladstone and Bright and Cobden, and the spirit of the man throbs in his diary, June 1, 1847: "News that the Factory Bill has passed the third reading. I am humbled that my heart is not bursting with thankfulness to Almighty God—that I can find breath and sense to express my joy. What return shall we give unto the Lord for all the benefits he hath conferred on us? God in his mercy prosper the work, and grant that these operatives may receive the cup of salvation and call upon the name of the Lord!" He was as profoundly religious as he was eagerly benevolent; he had a passionate love of principle, a proud hatred of shifts and compromises, a contempt for the whole race of mechanical politicians and their ignoble strife for place and power. He had the Latin poets at his fingers' ends, spoke French fluently, and knew Milton by heart. Ostentation was abhorrent to him, his personal appointments were simple, and his own expenditures were restricted within narrow limits; he lived abstemiously and denied himself that he might give to the needy. As a host receiving rich and poor in his hereditary home, St. Giles's House, near Cranborne, the mixture of stateliness and geniality in his bearing and address was an object lesson in high breeding. At the age of eighty-four, nearing life's end, he exclaimed with a yearning heart, like the heart of his Master, who wept over Jerusalem, "I cannot bear to leave the world with all the misery in it." How clear it is that none but Christ can make the greatest and the noblest men! And he can take the loftiest or the lowliest, from gutters or palaces, and make them shine resplend-

ently and tower sublimely; and the noblest use and action of palaces is when they make themselves the servants of the slums. The dozen pages of this chapter on Lord Shaftesbury leave us wondering where in the line of England's nobility one can look to find his superior. Certainly the aristocracy of this century cannot show his equal. We jar this notice with a shock of contrast by putting here some harsh words from Carlyle, who did not believe in coddling the weak and unfortunate or pitying slaves and prisoners. Of a dinner party in 1847 Bishop Wilberforce wrote: "Carlyle was in great force. Monckton Milnes drew him out by talking of the barbarity of capital punishment, that we could not be sure others were as wicked and blameworthy as they seemed, etc. Carlyle broke out on him with 'None of your heaven-and-hell Amalgamation Companies for me. We do know what is wickedness. I know wicked men, men whom I *would not live with*; men whom under some conceivable circumstances I would kill or they should kill me. No, Milnes, there is no truth or greatness in all that. It's just poor miserable littleness.'" Writing of "Parliamentary Oratory" the author says that Burke's style is, without any exception, the richest, the most picturesque, the most inspired and inspiring in our language: "In its glories and its terrors it resembles the Apocalypse." "In originality, erudition, and accomplishments he had no rival. His prose is the most musical and fascinating in the English tongue. It bears on every page the divine lineaments of genius." Yet he was called "The Dinner Bell of the House of Commons" because he emptied it. "In vain," says Moore, "did Burke's genius put forth its superb plumage, glittering all over with the hundred eyes of fancy. The gait of the bird was heavy and awkward, and its voice seemed rather to scare than attract." Here are some bits: "Pitt was, in spite of grave and undeniable faults, the greatest minister that ever governed England." Brougham's versatility and superficiality—"slovenly omniscience," some one called it—gave rise to the caustic saying that "if the Lord Chancellor only knew a little law he would know something about everything." "Mr. Gladstone's unapproached supremacy as an orator was not really seen until he touched the *moral elements* involved in some great political issue. Then indeed he spoke like a prophet and a man inspired. His whole physical formation seemed to become 'fusile' with the fire of his ethical passion, and his eloquence flowed like a stream of molten lava, carrying all before it in its irresistible rush, glorious as well as terrible. Gladstone's retirement from the House of Commons closed a splendid tradition, and Parliamentary Oratory as our fathers understood it may now be reckoned among the lost arts." "We have been told on high authority that the merriment of parsons is offensive; but the truth of this dictum depends entirely on the topic of the merriment. A clergyman who made light of the religion he professed to teach, or even joked about the incidents and accompaniments of his sacred calling, would by common consent be intolerable." Dean Stanley was the only clergyman

to whom the queen signed herself, "Ever yours affectionately." Canon Gore's "ascetic saintliness of life conceals from the general world, but not from the privileged circle of his intimate friends, the high breeding of a great Whig family and the philosophy of Balliol." The following is quoted from Sidney Smith's sermon in St. Paul's Cathedral the Sunday after the accession of the Princess Victoria to the throne at the age of eighteen: "This youthful monarch, profoundly but wisely religious, disdaining hypocrisy, casts herself upon God, and seeks from the Gospel of his blessed Son a path for her steps and a comfort for her soul." And our author, writing of Victoria when she has reigned sixty years, speaks of "the incomparable majesty of personal bearing which has taught many an onlooker that dignity has nothing to do with height, or beauty, or splendor of raiment; and, mingled with that majesty and unspeakably enhancing it, the human sympathy with suffering and sorrow, which has made Queen Victoria, as none of her predecessors ever was or could be, the Mother of her People." Mr. Russell calls the Crimean war "the most ruinous, most cruel, and least justifiable of all campaigns." "In the prayer books in St. George's Chapel at Windsor Castle all the pronouns which refer to the Holy Trinity are spelled with small letters, and those which refer to the queen with capitals." That extraordinary child of Israel, Disraeli, wildest of premiers, said, in his old age to a Jewish boy, "You and I belong to a race which can do everything but fail." Of Disraeli Bismarck said: "I think nothing of their Lord Salisbury. He is only a lath painted to look like iron. But that old Jew means business." In 1867 Lord Houghton wrote: "I met Gladstone at breakfast. He seems quite awed with the diabolical cleverness of Dizzy, who, he says, is gradually driving all ideas of political honesty out of the House and accustoming it to the most revolting cynicism." But our author says, "I have a sneaking affection for the man (Disraeli) who wrote: 'We live in an age when to be young and to be indifferent can no longer be synonymous. We must prepare for the coming hour. The claims of the Future are represented by suffering millions, and the Youth of a nation are the Trustees of Posterity.'" An English clergyman at a temperance meeting said that he had come to favor total abstinence, because for thirty years he had been trying to cure drunkards by making them drink in moderation, but had never succeeded. The newspaper reported him thus: "The reverend gentleman stated that for thirty years he had been trying to drink in moderation, but had never succeeded." Mr. Russell says, "It is held on good authority that no human being ever experiences a rapture so intense as an American Episcopalian bishop when he first hears himself called 'My Lord' at a London dinner party."

Autobiographical Reminiscences of Henry Ward Beecher. Edited by T. J. ELLINWOOD. 16mo. pp. 187. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

In his lecture room talks and sermons to his own people Mr. Beecher often spoke as freely as if in his home, and related many inci-

dents from his own life, using them in an illustrative way to illuminate or emphasize some religious point. This small volume is made up of selections from such narrated personal reminiscences. The frankness of an open and ingenuous nature speaks in them all. Not a few of them have suggestions for preachers. He says: "I owe more to the Book of Acts and the writings of the apostle Paul than to all other books put together. I was sent into the wilderness of Indiana to preach among the poor and ignorant, and I lived in my saddle. My library was in my saddle-bags. I went from camp meeting to camp meeting, and from log hut to log hut. I took my New Testament, and from it I got that which has been the very secret of any success that I have had in the Christian ministry." About training in elocution and vocal drill he says: "It was my good fortune in early academical life to fall into the hands of Professor Lovell, of New Haven, and for a period of three years I was drilled incessantly (you might not suspect it, but I was) in posturing, gesture, and voice culture. It was the skill of that gentleman that he never left a 'manner' with anybody. He simply gave his pupils the knowledge of what they had in themselves and helped them to bring it out." "There was a large grove lying between the seminary and my father's house, and it was the habit of my brother Charles and myself to make the night and even the day hideous with our voices as we passed backward and forward exploding all the vowels from the bottom to the very top of our voices. The drill that I underwent first and last produced, not an oratorical manner, but a physical instrument that accommodated itself readily to every kind of thought and every shape of feeling, and obeyed the inward will in the outward realization of the results of rules and regulations." This is on "Taking Aim in Preaching:" "When I had lived at Indianapolis the first year, I said, 'There was a reason why, when the apostles preached, they succeeded, and I will find it out if it is to be found out.' I took every instance in the record where I could find one of their sermons and analyzed it, and asked myself, 'What were the circumstances? Who were the people? What did he do?' And I studied the sermons till I got this idea: that the apostles were accustomed first to feel for a ground on which they and the people stood together, a common ground where they could meet. Then they stored up a large number of the particulars of knowledge that belonged to everybody; and when they had got that knowledge, which everybody would admit, placed in a proper form before the minds of the people, then they brought it to bear upon them with all their heart and feeling. That was the first definite idea of TAKING AIM that I had in my mind. 'Now,' I said, 'I will make a sermon so.' I remember it just as well as if it were yesterday. First, I sketched out the things we all know, and in that way I went on with my 'you all know' until I had about forty of them. When I had got through that I turned round and brought it to bear upon them with all my might; and there were seventeen men awakened under that sermon. I never felt so triumphant in my life. I cried all

the way home. I said to myself, 'Now, I know how to preach.' I could not make another sermon for a month that was good for anything. I had used all my powder and shot on that one. But, for the first time in my life, I had got the idea of TAKING AIM. I soon added to it the idea of analyzing the people I was preaching to, and so taking aim for specialties." On the "Secret of Retaining Health" he says: "I have often been asked by what secret I retain health and vigor under labors multi-form and continuous. I owe much to a good constitution, not spoiled by youthful excesses; much also to an early acquired knowledge of how to take care of myself, *to secure invariably a full measure of sleep*, to regard food as an engineer does fuel (to be employed economically and entirely with reference to the work to be done by the machine); much also to the habit of economizing social forces, and not wasting in needless conversation and pleasurable hilarities the spirit that would carry me through many days of necessary work; but, above all, to the possession of a hopeful disposition and natural courage, with sympathy with men, and to an unflinching trust in God; so that I have always worked for the love of working." Here is an incident easily available as an illustration from Mr. Beecher's experience when nearing land the coast of which was not yet visible: "When after the weary voyage that I first made across the ocean, sick, loathsome, I arose one morning and went upon the deck, holding on, crawling, thinking that I was but a worm, I smelt in the air some strange smell; and I said to the captain, 'What is that odor?' 'It is the land breeze from off Ireland,' he replied. I smelt the apple trees; I smelt the turf; I smelt the leaves; I smelt the grass. All my sickness departed. My eyes grew bright. My nausea had gone. With the land breeze thoughts of the nearness of the land came to me, and cured me better than diet or medicine could have done. And when, afar off, I saw the dim and hazy outline of the land, joy came. I experienced ecstasy in that moment. I had no sickness, and I walked the deck; glad that I was coming near to the land I had sailed for." Talking about "Loving the Unlovely" he confesses: "It is not troublesome for me to be interested in clean-faced, neat, nicely-dressed children, I like them so well. The poor that are moral, the self-respecting and the decorous, my equals in many things, and in some things often my superiors, I have no trouble in making my companions; but dirty-faced, impudent children I find it hardest to like. When a boy comes tagging after me and yelling, 'Henry Ward Beecher, he's a screecher,' and now and then puts in a stone by way of punctuation, I confess I do not exactly see the Christ that is in him." "I have found that the first hour in the morning after I awake is one of the clearest I have in the day; and if I want, before I arise, I have half an hour, or an hour, and look through the day, and digest many subjects that would naturally require clear-headedness. I thus save some hours before I get out of bed, in the course of the week, and regard them as clear gain." "I own the Episcopal Church; it is mine. I own the Presbyterian Church; there is not a good thing in it

that I do not own. I own the Methodist Church, and I will go to that Church when I have a mind to. I own the Baptist Church. I own the Lutheran Church. I own the Unitarian and Universalist Churches, if they have good ministers in them. I own the Swedenborgian Church. The earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof. I am the Lord's; I am his son and heir. Anything that Christ loves I will love, anything that he uses I will use, and those whom he sits down among I will sit down among. . . . All Church systems are imperfect and partial; but they all stand for Christ and do him service." About affliction Mr. Beecher said: "I remember well the first child I gave back to God. O, how I besought God for the life of that child! Wide as heaven was, I filled it full of prayer and supplication. But in a few hours all hope faded, and he died and left me empty and blank. I had a sort of torpid faith. I yielded a sort of dumb, dull, unreasoning submission to the will of God. . . . In thinking the matter over I came to this consciousness: 'Heartache is good for you.' Therefore I said, 'Ache, heart, and take it out in aching.' I did not try to stop grieving. I let the tears run down my cheeks as freely as they would. When I saw other people's children, and thought of my own, and anguish took hold of me, I said to myself, 'It is good for you to suffer. Christ sits as a refiner, and is trying the gold, and when it is enough refined he will cease trying it. He is more interested in me than I am in myself. I am his property; he has invested in me; he has me to present before his Father's throne, and it is his business to bring me to the highest possible state of perfection. So long as he thinks I had better suffer, I shall suffer, blessed be his name.' . . . And now, when I look back upon that event, and see its relation to my own spiritual culture, and to my preparation as a pastor for comforting others, and think of the wells of tenderness which it opened up in me, and the impatience and ill government which it corrected in me, and the thousand elements of good which it wrought, I perceive that God was in it."

MISCELLANEOUS.

Sixty-One Years of Itinerant Christian Life in Church and State. By THOMAS HALL PEARNE, D.D., author of *The World Harvest*, *The Two Churches*, etc. CROWN 8VO., pp. 491. Printed for the Author. Cincinnati: Curtis & Jennings. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

To few who enter the Christian ministry is it given to round out so many years of harvesting or to glean in such widely scattered fields as has been the privilege of Dr. Pearne. It is impossible, within a limited space, to enumerate the many leading events which are included in his long retrospect. In the first period of his official life—according to the division which he makes of his ministerial service into eras—his recollections of the General Conference of 1844 are important. His descrip-

tion of "Life in Oregon," as constituting the second period of his work, is a vivid portrayal of the planting of Methodism in that region. As presiding elder and first editor of the *Pacific Christian Advocate* he was himself a leading participant in the hardships and the success he describes. The future historian will be indebted to him, in this connection, for the correction of the statement that Marcus Whitman saved Oregon to the United States, and for his evidence of "the superior claims of Jason Lee and his associates over those of Dr. Whitman." Dr. Pearne's work in Tennessee, in the period of reconstruction following the war, was arduous and heroic. As United States Consul at Kingston, Jamaica, he was closely related to the Virginius incident, and records in a new setting some of the details of that thrilling tragedy. To the pastorate and the eldership in the Cincinnati Conference his last years have been devoted. His book, while retrospective, breathes with the spirit of activity and of participation in the present-day problems that are upon the Church. The many and widely scattered friends of Dr. Pearne will read the volume with special pleasure, and will wish for its author much more gleaning in the harvest field before the call shall come to rest.

The Story of John G. Paton, Told for Young Folks. By REV. JAMES PATON, B.A. 12mo, pp. 409. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

This marvelous account of thirty years among South Sea cannibals is now selling its fifteenth thousand. A new copyright edition is issued with two new chapters and forty-five full-page illustrations. Dr. Paton in his seventy-fifth year is still toiling on, inciting the Churches in Canada, the United States, and Australasia to claim and win for Jesus every island and tribe among the New Hebrides, and he would doubtless add the Ladrones, the Philippines, and all islands of all seas. John G. Paton is one of the victorious heroes of modern missions. This book is part of the modern Acts of the Apostles. It is worthy a place in any home or any Sabbath school library. The most unpleasant reading in it is a bit of history which shows the United States in a shameful light. This is it: "The sale of intoxicants, firearms, and ammunition to the New Hebrideans, by foreign traders, was decimating and demoralizing the natives. Opium and rum followed fast wherever the missionary pioneer had made things tolerably safe for the trader. Great Britain prohibited her own subjects from these dealings under heavy penalties. America was appealed to to follow suit." But the United States government under Benjamin Harrison and under Grover Cleveland declined to join in suppressing the villainous trade by which the souls and bodies of poor savages were debauched for gains that must be accursed. This looks like a black blot on our national escutcheon.

Lights and Shadows of American Life. By REV. A. C. DIXON, D.D. 12mo, pp. 197. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, \$1.

Dr. A. C. Dixon, pastor of the Hanson Place Baptist Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., is a man of fervent spirit and wide evangelistic labors both

in his own church and in other cities. This book is of like temper and worthy a place with the writings of F. B. Meyer, Andrew Murray, A. J. Gordon, and D. L. Moody. It shows that his fire is fed with anthracite, that under the flame of his fervor are firm substance, strong ideas, and definite arguments. He is not a ranter, but a reasoner. The chapters in this volume are, "Our Homes," "Our Bread-Winners," "Our Money-Makers," "Our Boys and Girls," "Our Amusements," "Our Sabbath," "Our Politics," "Our Cities," "Our Bible," "Our Churches," "Our Dangers," "Our Women," "Our Destiny." They are wise, earnest, and practical.

How to Make the Sunday School Go. By A. T. BREWER, Superintendent Epworth Memorial Sunday School, Cleveland, O. 12mo, pp. 191. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curtis & Jennings. Price, cloth, 60 cents.

If wise management can make the Sunday school "go" there is usually ground for hope that all other departments of Church work will take on vigor and success. The worth of such a practical book of suggestions as the present is therefore evident. Mr. Brewer has not himself written all the chapters of his work, but has elicited the contributions of many Sunday school workers having a practical knowledge of the theme they discuss. The subjects noticed are too many for enumeration. In fact, the numerous questions that challenge the thought and anxiety of the teacher seem all to have a place here. We judge it a valuable handbook of practical suggestions.

After Pentecost, What? A Discussion of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit in its Relation to Modern Christological Thought. By Rev. JAMES M. CAMPBELL, author of *Unto the Uttermost*, etc. 12mo, pp. 298. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, \$1.

How to Obtain Fullness of Power in Christian Life and Service. By R. A. TORREY, author of *How to Bring Men to Christ*, etc. 12mo, pp. 106. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

"Another Comforter." A Study of the Mission of the Holy Ghost. By Rev. A. D. MCCLURE, Pastor of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Wilmington, N. C. 12mo, pp. 137. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

In the estimate of Mr. Campbell, the author of the first of these volumes, the supreme problem of the present Church is "the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in its relation to the economy of redemption; and in so far as this problem is kept in the forefront will the Church be in the line of the divine purpose in the present day development of truth." The second book, by Mr. Torrey, recognizes that there are "many who do not even know that there is a life of abiding rest, joy, satisfaction, and power," and is written both for these and others who have not obtained. The final chapter on "The Power of a Surrendered Life" is pertinent and persuasive. The last book, by Mr. McClure, is a reverent study of the office work of the Holy Spirit, and cannot but be helpful to many. All the books are issued by a common publisher, and form part to the fast-increasing literature on the mission of the Spirit and his needed presence with the Church.

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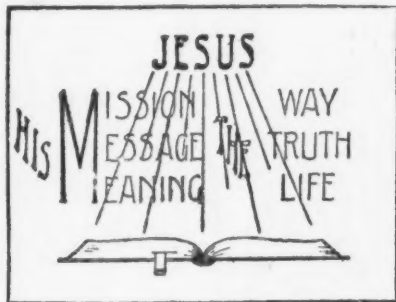
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